

ORIGINAL ENGLISH EDITION

JUL 30 1934

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The QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 521

July, 1934

Vol. 263

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Published Quarterly by the

LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY

(ROBERT J. SPENCE, PROP.)

Sole Agents for American Continent

249 WEST THIRTEENTH STREET, NEW YORK

Single Copies, \$1.75

Yearly Subscription, \$6.50

Entered at New York Post Office as Second Class Matter
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WALTER S. HAY, Books

249 WEST 13th STREET, NEW YORK

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW

No. 521.—JULY 1934.

Art. 1.—SEA, AIR, AND EMPIRE.

Just three hundred years ago Charles I was making a belated attempt to revive England's fleet by imposing the levy known as Ship-Money on his ignorant and reluctant subjects. Thirty years previously, when his predecessor ascended the throne, the country was still thriving on the fruits of the dispersal and destruction of the Great Armada. But the monarch whose favourite text was 'blessed are the peacemakers' conceived that diplomacy was more benevolent and more economical than battle-ships, and under James I the fleet was so neglected that England soon ceased to count in the Councils of Europe. Spain, her lately defeated enemy, treated her with the contempt she deserved, scorned her pacific gestures, and started the disastrous Thirty Years War. Charles's inheritance was a navy so depleted and impoverished that it could not even defend England's shores from common pirates, alien privateers, and Barbary corsairs. Such were the results of allowing the people to sink into a state of false security and of pursuing peace without maintaining the power to preserve it. The panic measures which became necessary to meet the growing danger to the very existence of the nation came, naturally, as a shock; and the unhappy victim of the circumstances which made them necessary, far from securing the support of those whom he was trying to save from past follies, only incurred unpopularity which culminated in the loss of his throne and his head.

History has a way of repeating itself, and after every great war there has been a wave of lazy idealism in this country. At such times politicians, ever with an ear to the ground for the murmur of those popular sentiments which can be converted into votes, have lent themselves

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all too readily to the notion that peace can be preserved by noble words and 'sacred' treaties. They forget that our enemies, whom we have generally defeated, may not be so full of the spirit of forgiveness and brotherly love as we who have either achieved what we fought for or held securely that of which they sought to deprive us. They sign the treaties, but they bide their time.

It is just twenty years since the outbreak of the greatest war the world has ever seen. Four years of desperate strife left civilisation itself rocking on its foundations. Our enemies collapsed from physical and psychological, rather than financial, exhaustion. The victory won, our countrymen and women have once again been lulling themselves into the belief that there will be 'no more war.' Mindful perhaps of the comparatively ephemeral results of such agreements as those of Paris in 1856, of Berlin in 1885, and at The Hague in 1899 and 1907, the statesmen of the world, led by the optimistic Woodrow Wilson, created a permanent form of international council in the shape of the League of Nations. This gave birth to those histrionic documents the Locarno and Kellogg Pacts. By the former, it will be recalled, we committed ourselves to defend Germany, France, and Belgium from each other—without any reciprocal arrangements for our own protection; and in the latter we joined in an almost universal proclamation that war was henceforth outlawed from the hearts of mankind. What more logical than that there should follow a conference to secure the general abolition of the means of making war?

For long one of the most powerful weapons in existence had been the British Navy. Naturally enough, this came in for early attention on the part of other nations, to whom our fleet had always been an object of envy—except at intervals when they realised that it was their main safeguard. The Armistice found us weighted with the burden of our own and a huge proportion of our allies' debts. The United States, rich beyond the dreams of avarice, conscious of their power, and more than ever alive to the value of a great navy, determined to have a fleet second to none. Wisely, we agreed to enter into the Washington Conference; by no other means could we have avoided a race in which we should have been

hopelessly defeated. Agreement was reached with regard to the number of the most expensive class of warship—the battleship—to be maintained by Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy. Other limitations making for economy were mutually imposed on the displacement and calibre of guns of capital ships and of cruisers, and on the number and size of aircraft carriers. We conceded 'parity' in principle to the United States; the balance of sea power between Britain and other nations was not seriously disturbed. Unfortunately the United States would not rest content with this achievement, and in 1927 a further conference was called by the President—this time at Geneva. But this soon split up, mainly on the subject of cruisers. Much misrepresentation in the American Press and false propaganda at Geneva engineered by armament firms on the other side of the Atlantic had created an atmosphere highly prejudicial to any agreement; but the result was to leave relations between the two countries mainly concerned somewhat strained and other naval Powers apprehensive.

In October 1929 Mr Ramsay MacDonald paid a personal visit to the new President, Mr Hoover, and cordial conversations paved the way for that London Naval Treaty which has been our undoing. Throughout the negotiations which followed a weak Board of Admiralty was kept firmly in the background by the politicians, and professional advice was ignored. We emerged shorn of four more battleships and a battle cruiser; but worst of all, we surrendered for the time being the vital principle that our cruiser needs must be based on geographical considerations. We agreed to reduce our cruiser strength from the seventy which had been declared again and again by competent authorities to be the minimum for peace-time security to a nebulous fifty. Nor was this all; France and Italy, the most formidable of our naval neighbours, refused to agree to any further limitations in size, armament, and numbers of ships under 10,000 tons beyond those already entered into at Washington, with the result that they are free to build and have built many destroyers vastly more powerful than those to which we are restricted.

So much for our efforts to emulate the example of James I and appease the world by depriving ourselves of

the means to defend ourselves if we are attacked by sea. But we have not been content with sweeping naval reductions. A new and no less vital danger to this island developed during the War—the menace of air attack. That cloud ‘no larger than a man’s hand’ in 1914 now looms so wide and so black that to many people it seems the greatest, if not the only, peril; yet we have destroyed our war-time air forces and do not even maintain ‘parity’ with those of a nation within an hour’s flight of our shores. As to our Army, it has reverted once again to being a mere police force, barely sufficient for garrison duties at home and abroad. These trustful gestures were intended to give a lead to that Disarmament Conference which for over two years has been seeking to induce the nations to consolidate peace by casting away their arms. And what has happened? First Japan and then Germany have left the League of Nations. Japan, defying all prohibitions, has wrenched Manchuria from a protesting but powerless China by force of arms; she has announced her intention to remain firmly in the mandated islands in the Pacific; she has made it clear that she intends to be regarded as the dominant nation in the Far East; and last, but not least, she has intimated that she will claim naval ‘parity’ with Britain and the United States on the expiration of the London Treaty in 1936. Germany, seeing that nothing happens to a nation with the courage of its ambitions, has decided that the time has come to cast off the trammels of the Versailles Treaty, and she too has demanded ‘parity’ in principle with her military neighbours. Britain, anxious to act as mediator, has suggested plan after plan and sent Minister after Minister to save the Conference from collapse; but France will not hear of any proposals for reducing her own arms while Germany re-arms, unless her other neighbours, especially Britain, will undertake to grant immediate and effective assistance if she is attacked. In other words, if war breaks out again between these two age-long enemies, we are expected by France to assume without question that she is in the right and Germany in the wrong, and proceed to attack the latter.

Mussolini, in spite of financial embarrassments which are a constant brake on his impulses and aspirations, has loudly voiced his disbelief in both the Disarmament

Conference and the League of Nations; yet he is not anxious to incur the odium of Italy's formal withdrawal. Of the other great Powers, the United States and Russia remain formally detached from the League, although both have their say, when they feel so inclined, in the disarmament debates. Thus we see the sorry picture of the representatives of many small nations sitting apprehensively at the council table waiting for the big nations to settle their differences in order that they may go home with a sense of peace and security. If there is one thing which has detracted from that sense more than another of late years, it has been the Disarmament Conference; moreover, it appears to have acted as a direct incentive to every nation except Britain to increase its armed forces. With the final collapse of the Conference inevitable, it is full time for us to take stock of the situation and to delay no longer putting our defences in order.

Public anxiety about our air forces has been fanned by much propaganda in the Press and elsewhere; but the perilous state of our sea security and the condition of our merchant shipping receives most inadequate attention. It is all-important to get these matters in their right perspective, for if we set about plugging one leak but fail to detect others, the vessel of state which appears to ride so serenely in a calm sea will soon founder when the waters become troubled. Let us therefore take stock of our weaknesses in detail, and so gauge their relative importance and urgency. First let us examine this air danger in all its bearings, and in doing so we must not be content with diplomatic generalities. What are the true capabilities of foreign aircraft to-day as regards range and powers of attack, and what nations possess aircraft in sufficient numbers and are so situated geographically that they could injure Britain or any other parts of the Empire or interfere with our shipping from the air? We are constantly being told that we have sunk to the position of the fifth or sixth air Power; but who are our superiors, and are they a menace to Imperial defence from the point of view of air attack? These are the essential headings under which the problem must be examined if we are to arrive at its realities.

To begin with, there is the United States with something over 2000 war aeroplanes in their naval and military

air services. It would be no less absurd to regard these aircraft as a menace to Canada—the only adjacent part of the Empire—than it would be to look upon the American navy as a threat to Australia. As a potential enemy in the air, the United States must be simply ruled out. Then there is Soviet Russia. The distance between the nearest points in the British Islands and that country is over a thousand miles. Air enthusiasts—who, incidentally, are wont to spoil a good case by exaggeration—claim that there already exist bombing aircraft with a thousand miles radius ; but for practical purposes this must mean that these machines can fly a thousand miles to their objective fully loaded, have sufficient fuel reserve to allow for errors in navigation, tactical manœuvring, and adverse weather conditions, and be able to return to the point of starting—another thousand miles return journey. Moreover, if their attacks are to make any sustained effect, they must be able to perform this flight again and again without long intervals for overhauls. Any honest air authority will confess that such bombing squadrons do not exist. There are a few experimental machines which could drop small bombs at such a distance, but they would have no more lasting effect than Big Bertha's spasmodic shells did on Paris. For all practical purposes, therefore, Russia as an air menace to Britain can also be ignored, at any rate for the present. True, it has always been realised that she is a potential danger to India ; but aircraft, like warships, cannot hold territory : the Soviet air forces may supplement but they do not greatly enhance the capabilities of the Soviet army to invade that country. Those capabilities are still limited by many considerations, the chief of which are political and geographical. They are not such as to constitute one of the prime factors in considering our air needs, but they should be kept well in mind.

Japan, with her ill-concealed ambitions in the Far East, is often alluded to as a potential enemy casting covetous eyes on Australia, *en route* perhaps to New Zealand and India. That she must expand may be taken as axiomatic, but surely it is better that she should be free to do so in directions where she can do least harm to British interests. If we show tolerance towards her very natural aspirations, even if her methods do not always

seem to be entirely orthodox, we shall regain a friendship which used to be a very great factor in preserving peace in the Far East, and promote a sense of security in both our countries. As an air Power, Japan could not seriously threaten Australia or any other British territory until or unless she had secured such undisputed control of the sea that she was able to establish secure bases within striking range of her objectives. If ever that state of affairs came about it would be due to our having neglected our Navy and not our Air Force.

But now we come much nearer home. France, our late ally who is still linked to us by innumerable common interests, is vastly superior to us in the air. It is true that her air forces are maintained mainly as an antidote to those of her immediate Continental neighbours; but it is neither right nor safe that in this vital form of defence we should be in such a condition of inferiority to any foreign Power, however friendly, particularly one with such conspicuous geographical advantages as she possesses. London is within an hour's flight of French soil. Year by year the huge target presented by the nerve-centre of the Empire grows bigger and bigger and more and more vulnerable. Year by year, too, the London docks become more indispensable for the reception and distribution of food for the greater percentage of the population of England. At the present moment a hostile France could make the Channel and the approaches to the Thames wellnigh impassable to our shipping by the unrestricted use of her air force. The Navy could do little to counter such attacks; but it could, of course, harry French coastal ports and close the Channel to all French shipping.

Another near neighbour, Germany, is determined to re-arm. She is keenly alive to the value of air power and already possesses very great resources for producing a military air force in a minimum time. Her civil aviation is highly organised and includes machines which unquestionably could be converted into bombers; even if these were not as highly efficient as those designed for the purpose, they would be adequate to attack London and its approaches. Theoretically, Germany is not a military air Power at all; but in reality she is a growing danger in the air which we cannot afford to ignore.

There remains Italy, a nation which has always shown great enterprise in all mechanical developments. As an air Power she is too far distant to be a danger to England; but in the Mediterranean the Italian and French air forces have changed the whole strategical situation during late years. Whereas in the past our fleet in those waters constituted a reasonably adequate peace-time force to safeguard our route to the Far East, to-day the Navy alone could not provide the requisite security. Short of sending heavy air reinforcements, which we do not possess, to Malta and Gibraltar, there can be little doubt that if we were at war with either France or Italy, British shipping for the time being would have to be limited to specially escorted convoys, and a considerable proportion of our trade with the East would have to be diverted to the old route round the Cape of Good Hope.

So much for real, as distinct from imaginary, air perils. They are quite serious enough and it is not necessary to exaggerate them in order to prove what is the fact, that, owing to our weakness in the air, we cannot expect to exercise the same influence in European councils that we could when a predominant Navy was all-important. To-day we would be as defenceless in the air against a hostile France as we were helpless at sea against the Dutch in the time of Charles I. German civil aviation is a potential and ever-growing menace to this country. Italy is a danger to our communications through the Mediterranean. We may seek consolation in the reflection that we are not likely to find ourselves in conflict with either France, Germany, or Italy without the assistance of one or both the other two; but that is no justification for continuing to neglect a vital part of our defences; all the more so because we should not have time to make good our deficiency before the enemy had wrought havoc in England or on British shipping.

Having summarised the position as regards air attack, let us turn to our traditional defence—that provided by a Navy strong enough to keep the seas free for our shipping and to deny them to that of the enemy. Can air-craft supersede men-of-war in providing this defence? Clearly they cannot do so, except to a limited extent in comparatively small areas where they can exert their

influence from shore bases. The First Lord of the Admiralty recently stated in Parliament that on any given day 85 per cent. of British shipping on the high seas is out of range of such shore-based aircraft. But it is not out of range of enemy cruisers, ocean-going submarines, or raiders such as the 'Moewe' in the late war.

We have seen that there are only two, or perhaps in the near future three, Powers whose aircraft constitute a menace to our trade routes; but any and every naval Power of any account has the means to do irreparable damage to our shipping in areas far beyond the reach of aircraft, unless we maintain an adequate Navy. The nation cannot be reminded too often and too insistently that we are dependent for two-thirds of our food, practically the whole of our oil, and much of our essential raw materials on a series of sea arteries, all of which are vulnerable throughout their length. We might have the greatest air force in the world, but it would only help to protect those arteries where they converge into home waters. Without men-of-war to safeguard our ships from their ports of sailing and throughout every mile of their voyage, they would never reach the sheltering wing of those air defences. The result would be that before long the Nation would begin to starve, all industry, transport, and manufacture of munitions would come to a standstill, and the very aeroplanes themselves would be unable to leave the ground for lack of fuel.

It is clear, therefore, that it will profit us nothing to develop our Air Force at the expense of the Navy; indeed, to pursue such a policy would merely result in adding very greatly to our risks and to the number of our potential enemies. When we take a wider view of the problem and consider the needs of Imperial defence, it becomes obvious that aircraft cannot possibly maintain those vital sea communications which link Britain with the Empire overseas. If any part of the Empire is threatened, the cry will go up again for ships and yet more ships to transport men, munitions, stores of every description—and aircraft*; but in war time ships without a Navy to

* It is only the heavy long-range aeroplanes which may be able to fly out to the threatened areas. Short-range fighters, and the mass of stores, the ground personnel, and the fuel required for an air force must be transported by sea.

protect them are just so many targets for the enemy and so many liabilities to their owners.

Now, what are the essential components of a Navy for Imperial defence in these days? Quite clearly, our main fleet must be capable of meeting that of the most formidable adversary it may be called upon to engage and have every reasonable prospect of success. Consequently the types and number of ships which compose that fleet must bear some definite relation to those of the fleets of other sea Powers. It follows, therefore, that so long as other nations decide to maintain battleships of 30,000 tons armed with 16-inch guns, it would be suicidal for us to build smaller, slower, or less heavily armed battleships, for they would be incapable of doing the very thing for which they were built, and would therefore be sheer waste of money. The British Government, with the acquiescence of successive Boards of the Admiralty, have repeatedly advocated smaller battleships; but so far the United States will have none of them and Japan will not contemplate any inferiority to America in this respect. This question will certainly come up again in 1935 before the termination of the London Treaty in 1936, and there is no reason why, if good sense and good feeling prevail, there should not be some reduction in the size and cost of battleships; but those who talk loosely of abolishing them altogether are merely displaying their profound ignorance, not only of the whole mechanism of sea power, but of the entire system of Imperial defence. To put the matter in the most elementary language—it is obvious that the ship with the most powerful guns to hit her adversary, the thickest armour to defend her vitals from shell and bombs, and the most complete under-water protection against torpedoes and mines, can fight and forge her way whither she will. Every lesser type of ship must give way before her; if it is faster it can, perhaps, stab at her and run away; but if she is properly equipped to parry those stabs, no less powerful ship can deflect her from her course. Such is the predominant surface ship—the battleship. She has changed in many details since the days of the old ship-of-the-line, but in her essential functions she remains the fulcrum of all our defences, whether at sea, on land, or in the air; without her the

whole of that complex machine, the fighting Services, would collapse like a pack of cards: cruisers would be forced to desert their convoys or be sunk with them by the guns of the enemy's battleships; food and fuel would not arrive; the people would starve; the Navy would be swept from the seas; and the Army and Air Force would soon be unable to fight.

Those who assert that, in any case, battleships are a waste of money because they would be 'bombed out of existence' are wrong in the assumption that the big bomb is more deadly than the heavy shell; it is not and never can be so, for the simple reason that it cannot have the same powers of penetration. The torpedo launched from an aeroplane, too, is smaller and therefore has less explosive effect than torpedoes fired from surface ships or even submarines. The post-war battleship is as completely protected against heavy shell and the largest torpedoes as human ingenuity can make her; why should she be paralysed by less formidable weapons?

All this does not mean that the battle fleet of to-day can afford to disregard aircraft—far from it. Naval bases, like any other harbour within range of enemy air forces, must have anti-aircraft defences comparable in every way to the anti-submarine defences which became necessary in the last war, and which will be no less necessary in future. Both these forms of defence are now the chief responsibility of the Territorial Army. Just as the Garrison Artillery in former days had to co-operate with local naval patrols in defence of ports, so the Territorial gunners will have to combine with the Air Force as well as the Navy in protecting them from attack by air and sea. After all, there is nothing so very new about the tactics of air raids; they are merely the old game of 'tip and run' with which a mechanised Navy has for long been familiar, and of which with the advent of the tank, the Army is also beginning to have experience. True, the time taken to deliver an attack by aircraft is infinitely less, which means that the measures taken to intercept it must if possible be speedier; yet no one has so far invented anything more speedy than a shell from a gun. It is often forgotten that a gun can be fired and aim can be corrected as long as the ammunition lasts, whereas an aeroplane having dropped its bombs must go back to its

base for more, and if it returns to its target the first lot of bombs provide little or no guide for dropping the next lot. All of which goes to show that a fleet lying at its base need not be the defenceless object it is often made out to be. Dunkirk—one of the most heavily bombed localities in the War—was packed with ships for four years, and the damage done to them was insignificant. Even if the capabilities of aircraft and the size of bombs were inferior to those of to-day, equally the local anti-aircraft defences were below modern standards.

Once out at sea enemy aircraft are only one of many secondary forms of attack which a battle fleet must be prepared to meet, and against which it must be equipped. To repel attacks by torpedo craft battleships have, in addition to their main armament, powerful batteries of 6-inch guns. With the advent of the air menace, they have been equipped with an array of anti-aircraft artillery. For obvious reasons, this has never been fully tried out, but so far as peace-time practices indicate, aircraft could not attack battleships with impunity. It is a remarkable fact that throughout the War German aircraft, having sampled the ability of our monitors to defend themselves, studiously avoided those craft, although they positively challenged attack by steaming up and down the Belgian coast day after day. Even when they bombarded the German positions no efforts were made by the enemy to retaliate on the ships from the air. The pictures drawn for us not infrequently by the less responsible organs of the Press of a defenceless battle fleet being remorselessly bombed out of existence are purely fantastic. But a fleet does not rely on defensive measures alone. The attendant light cruisers and destroyers are there to engage the enemy torpedo craft and submarines, and the aircraft carriers with their nests of fighters and torpedo bombers provide the means for attacking from the air. It is the old story; for every new form of attack there is an appropriate form of defence and counter-attack. But at sea the gun still reigns supreme, and, ultimately, it is the guns and armour of the battleship which still dominate the issue.

So much for what the First Sea Lord has appropriately called the 'full backs' of the team. But it is the forwards who must necessarily play the most active part in

the contest—the cruisers, sloops, and destroyers, whose business it must be to safeguard the ocean routes throughout their whole length. We have seen that the main fleet requires its own quota of cruisers and destroyers as an essential part of its equipment. Owing to the restrictions we accepted under the London Treaty, the balance of those vessels that now remains for commerce protection is wholly inadequate. By 1936 we shall have only forty-nine cruisers, of which, incidentally, fifteen will be over age. Of the total number, some twenty-five will be required for the main fleet; at any given time five will be a low average to allow for ships laid up refitting or repairing. This leaves only nineteen cruisers to defend 80,000 miles of sea routes all over the world, with no margin for casualties. We started the last war with one hundred and twenty-four cruisers; even after every German ship had been driven from the seas and we had built feverishly to increase that number, the Admiralty were constantly at their wit's end for escort ships. If the continued existence of the Empire and the very life of Britain are to be assured, therefore, we must at all costs free ourselves from the yoke of that treaty. There is no reason why that should result in a 'race of armaments,' for we should merely resume our traditional and logical standpoint that we shall build according to our geographical requirements and not against any particular nation. Our cruisers, widely scattered as they must be for commerce protection, cannot constitute a threat to any country, but to leave our shipping as defenceless as it is to-day is to invite attack. After the cruiser the next most important type of man-of-war is the destroyer. As we have seen, she is the essential satellite of the battleship; she is also the indispensable 'general service' craft for escorting, patrolling, anti-submarine operations, and emergency calls of every kind. Of the hundred and sixteen destroyers we shall have by the end of 1936, fifty will be over age. What this means was very clearly illustrated during the recent manoeuvres in the Atlantic, when heavy weather sent the older destroyers of one side into harbour, whereby their battle fleet was engaged at a serious disadvantage by the main fleet of the opposite side. It will be recalled, too, that owing to the London Treaty our destroyers are small, slow, and weakly armed

by comparison with those of France and Italy : a matter gravely prejudicial to the security of our position in the Mediterranean. In this category too we must regain our freedom to build according to our needs.

There is one further constituent in the armoury of Imperial defence which must come into the scope of this survey ; and that is our Merchant Navy. That service bore the burden of the War to an extent with which even the Navy's sacrifices cannot be compared. Since then it has been hampered by the heavy falling off in world trade and by unequal competition with the subsidised ships of foreign nations. At the beginning of the present century 50 per cent. of the world's merchant tonnage was under the British flag ; to-day it is only 27.9 per cent. This means that year by year British ships are leaving the seas to be laid up and ultimately broken up ; it means that in the event of war there will be far fewer ships to meet the huge demands for transport which will at once arise, and to replace the inevitable casualties ; it means also that the Merchant Service will no longer be able to spare ships to be armed as auxiliary cruisers to help make good our very serious shortage of the real article ; it means, moreover, that fewer officers and men are being trained to that element which is the very life-blood of everything British ; and, finally, it means that the great industry on which we mainly rely to make good the excess of our imports over exports is dwindling in a way which threatens our whole economic structure.

Having passed these matters in review, however briefly, it is now possible to place them in better perspective, and to form a more balanced judgment of our actual dangers and our true needs. The air menace is a very real one, and our inferiority in that element vis-à-vis our nearest neighbour weakens our influence in the councils of Europe for the maintenance of peace. The hope that other nations would follow our gestures and reduce their air armaments has proved illusory ; we have no alternative but to increase our Air Force, and every day's delay accentuates our peril and loss of prestige. But the Air Force, however powerful it may become, is not an alternative to the Navy ; aeroplanes cannot be a substitute for a sufficient number of warships, much less can they replace battleships. The fact is the two Services

are complementary to one another ; without a powerful Navy the Air Force will not be able to keep in the air ; without a strong Air Force the Navy cannot function efficiently within range of enemy aeroplanes. The Army is equally indispensable. It is the only Service capable of holding each vital area and defending it against enemy occupation, sabotage, or civil riot. It cannot be relieved of these duties by either the Navy or the Air Force. Lastly, there is that fourth service, the Merchant Navy, upon which our defences are absolutely dependent for essential supplies. Indeed, it is not too much to say that without it there would, ultimately, be no *raison d'être* for the other three Services. Battleships, aeroplanes, tanks, what are they all for ? Surely it is that our people may live in that peace which can only endure so long as our merchant ships continue to pass on the seas upon their lawful occasions.

E. ALTHAM.

Art. 2.—THE SHORT STORY.

1. *The Best British Short Stories*. Edited by Edward J. O'Brien. Cape, 1933.
2. *The Best American Short Stories*. Edited by Edward J. O'Brien. Cape, 1933.
3. *French Short Stories of the 19th and 20th Century*. Dent, 1933.
4. *The Art of the Novel*. By Pelham Edgar. Macmillan, 1933.
5. *The Spirit of France*. By Paul Cohen-Portheim. New York : Dutton, 1933.
6. *Largeness in Literature*. By J. W. Mackail. The English Association, Pamphlet No. 76. University Press, Oxford, 1930.

THE twenty-two stories assembled in the first book on our list, the editor assures us, are the best of the year ; but he is rather cheerless over the result of his labour. He finds the field of his reading sharply contracted in his search for distinctive stories. He finds it hard to believe that fewer such stories are being written ; it is equally hard for us to accept his conclusion that, in the present flux from the printing-press, channels are lacking for the publication of them. The reason must be otherwise.

The task he has set for himself is to disengage the essential qualities in contemporary fiction which, when chronicled conscientiously by literary artists, may fairly be called a criticism of life. What has interested him most is the fresh living current, and the psychological and imaginative reality which writers have conferred upon it. His test is that a story should render life imaginatively in organic substance and artistic form. Substance, he assures us, is something achieved by the artist in every creation ; and the story only attains substantial embodiment when the writer's power of compelling imaginative persuasion transforms it into a living truth. But it seems there is a further test : the true artist must shape this living substance into the most beautiful and satisfying form. Although the editor gives a London and Oxford address, it is apparent from his manner of writing that his literary home is in America. It is doubtful that these twenty-two writers are fully

aware of the high calling assigned to them ; possibly they are only trying to tell a story as well as they can. To complete the record of the year the editor gives the names of 140 additional stories which, he believes, unite living substance and artistic form in a closely woven pattern. We could wish that, in proof of his thesis, he had included more such stories in the present volumes.

The editor makes complaint against both British and American stories that they are written to patterns based on 'wish fulfilment.' But fashion in literature changes like fashion in clothes. Professor Edgar reminds us : At one time romance is in the ascendant, at another realism has the vogue. The author is brutally frank or prudishly reticent. He loves to preach or he abhors didacticism. He parades his own opinions or seeks to hide himself in the story. He paints with full strokes or gets his effects by inference and innuendo, and substitutes suggestion for the full-flowered statement. At one time he affects the carefully patterned design : incidents dovetailed, characters grooved, and everything irresistibly moving to the inevitable conclusion ; or again strives to simulate the haphazard incongruity and inconclusiveness of life. It is an amusing game to watch. Literary revolutions are perpetually decapitating crowned heads.

It is in the theatre, not in the story, that this change of fashion is most obviously swift ; and those responsible for the theatre are the last to observe the change. They continue to set a stage to imitate a sordid 'living room' where two persons discuss political and socialistic doctrine, or mutter in a corner to themselves the problems that torment their little minds. They forget that the spirit of Shakespeare lives, and the emotions he aroused still move men. Ibsen, Shaw, Brieux, Strindberg, Wedekind, children of Euripides, entered into an heritage, the play with a purpose, the social and psychological drama. They soon dissipated their patrimony. The public discovered that they could read for themselves if they were at all interested in the subject ; and those theatres are now dark. People demand a spectacle of fresh beauty that appeals to the eye as well as to the abstract mind. Comedians, clowns, and dancers have usurped the place of solemn tragedians and the declaimers of disputable doctrine.

The stories in these books carry naturalism to the

extreme limit. A professor of literature for the benefit of his scholars must establish categories, set bounds, and search for sources. But great minds are not so rigid as that. Professor Woodhead protests on all suitable occasions that Plato himself was at once idealist and realist, puritan and humorist. Yet it is near enough to the truth, that modern realism began with Richardson, as an unconscious revolt against romanticism, that Diderot made it fashionable in France. By Balzac it was rescued from the snarling Voltaire. Dumas had passed, and Victor Hugo was left, the last French survivor of the romantic mood. Naturalism found new votaries in the Russians; in Flaubert, Zola, Daudet, Maupassant, Mérimée; in Hardy, Bennett, and Galsworthy. The process attained its legitimate end in Anatole France. They discovered that even in the lowest life there may be an inner life, a universal element; and in describing a character they portrayed a type revealing the world in which they move, think, and live. Intent upon the low, the writers of our own time, if we can judge from these books, have missed the inward; they have the technique without the inspiration.

What Mr Cohen-Portheim says of naturalism in pictures applies equally to writing. It is a dreary and superficial theory that our vision of the world is an objective one, and nothing more or less than the truth, that the copying of this objective aspect of nature is the artistic ideal. Artistically, a copy of nature is worthless; the most faithful copies are coloured photographs. The artists, he continues, who have succeeded in either field, the pictorial and literary, of the naturalistic realm owe their success to their personality and talent for expressing it, not to their supposed fidelity to nature.

There must be even in the simplest story what Professor Mackail describes as a largeness, a measure, a beauty of size and order, a rightness. That is what W. P. Ker meant when he said in his own definite way that a piece of literature is not classical nor romantic, not imaginative nor naturalistic, but simply right. Most of these stories are not right. No artist can escape from the pain of discernment and selection. Few of these authors have discerned wisely; nor have they selected those elements which are a comment or criticism, or an illumination of

life as a whole. Largeness, Professor Mackail insists, is not merely size ; it is the opposite of small, thin, tight, laboured ; it is a matter of quality, atmosphere, an ample air, a background which is the whole of life. The stories of *Æsop*, *La Fontaine*, *Grimm*, *Kipling*, small as they are, all possess this quality of largeness. There is a law of the story as there is a law of the sonnet ; it must satisfy the universal demand of the eye, the ear, the mind. It must appease the child that is in all of us.

The war is blamed for all that is wrong in life or in art. Although not one of these stories is an obvious war story, they are nearly all a distillate of the crude ideas and the flow of words that issued from it. Most war stories are false because the writers look upon war as an extraneous incident detached from life. Certain monstrous elements emerge in the glare of war, and they have been treated as if they were the only ones, whilst in reality the men at war continued to live their own inner lives, and supplied material for the creation of universal stories. The revolt in the last century from romanticism, from exotic themes, heroes and heroines, distant ages, harmony and proportion, brought the writers down to earth, to the present. Their successors, at the first glance, thought the modern industrial world a mean and sordid place, worse than the earth of *Zola*, a world of city slums. Their stories dealt only with the mean and the sordid, the vulgar, the sexual, the obscene. That mood increased with the war, and even the best of the post-war writers lack the omniscient eye to discover that the earth is yet very good. It is easy to discern the abnormal, the distorted, the grotesque, the ghastly, the monstrous ; and these qualities have become the material of their art. In these twenty-two British stories, seven of the principal characters are insane ; that is, 31·81 per cent., a number quite out of proportion to the British insane, even if the Irish and Colonists be included ; and there is not a trace of humour in their morbid world.

The artist intent upon the ugly will find ugliness even where it does not exist. The business of the artist is to search for beauty ; he will find it in trees and brooks ; good in sermons, and a precious jewel in the head of the ugly and venomous toad. Or, as *St Bernard* writes in one of his epistles : Trust one who has tried it ; you

will find more in woods than in books ; trees and stones will teach you what you can never learn from masters. Let us now inquire, at the risk of being tedious, where these twenty-two writers looked for beauty and what they found, leaving at one side for the moment their plot, action, and surprise, which are often excellent ; and studiously refraining from comment upon those qualities of technique, excepting to remark that the sense of aridity and barrenness is increased by the absence in all but one of any sexual element, which has an interest peculiar to itself. Separate, all these stories would be entertaining enough ; assembled, they are tiresome in their uniformity. That is the fault not of the authors but of the book ; yet in the mass it may help them to see themselves as readers see them in detail. Mr O'Brien protests that no preference or prejudice has consciously influenced his judgment ; but unconsciously his selection suggests the morbid psychology of Freud. We shall now set forth the scenes in the order of their appearance :

1. I don't usually mind walking in rain, but on this occasion the rain was coming down in torrents and I still had ten miles to go.—He looked through a window and saw bare walls, a bare mantelpiece, and an empty grate ; the garden was wild, the beds full of weeds. He met a fat man, grey, bald, swollen-headed ; his clothes and face were streaming with water. The rain was trickling through the observer's hair and down his neck. In the last sentence the old man caught his breath, a shudder distorted his face, and clenching his two extended hands he began to beat his breast convulsively.—He was insane.

2. Sitting on an iron seat two old men gazed dumbly at the sunlit emptiness of a town square. To them entered a figure. He too was old ; beside him it was as though they were adolescent. He was patriarchal. He resembled a biblical prophet, bearded and white and immemorial. He was timeless.—He was insane.

3. Elsie took her glass of stout very slowly. She looked in a mirror and saw reflected a plump, untidy, red-faced, little woman. She tried to make her hat a bit straight and push a few ends in, and she giggled aloud.—She was drunk.

4. The man came into the world in this way : His mother was having a sick passage with the babe she was

carrying ; with the onset of premature pains, her slim body grotesquely distorted with its burden, she dragged herself from one trivial task to another, always tired, often in pain, and intermittently seized with violent retchings. They cut the babe out of her at three in the morning.—He was insane. He tried to fly ; and his thigh-bones were forced up through his shoulder-blades.

5. The old woman in love dropped on her knees, this poor creature, and caressed a crocus ; she got up rather awkwardly because her limbs were stiff. A thud and a scream was the last sound she made.—She had jumped out of the window ; she had admitted that she was silly.

6. The Captain was an Aberdonian Welshman, a skinny chap with a squeaky voice, bald head, and billygoat beard.—The story concerns a hen, and shows what a hen with a sense of dooty can do.

7. Herbert's feet, from dangling so long in the tram, had died of cold in his boots ; he stamped the coffins on blue-and-buff mosaic. His uncle was an enormous presence, and roared with impatience. Herbert and the woman walked after dark on the terrace : she looked ill, tired ; she was going to have a baby.

8. Gene Rasmus Robinson, suh ; and the negro in the faded blue and white pin-stripe suit grinned all over his chestnut-brown features. A sturdy little collier with a cap half askew upon his head who asked, Wheer doster come from. A stringy fellow in a dirty tweed coat. Then, an old man, who let out a fearful cry, A nigger, by God. I'd rather work by mi'sen i' misery ten hunner thousan' times. I'll swear when it damned well pleases me to swear. To hell with you, Sambo.

9. In a large, undefined, stone-paved room no light burned excepting a feeble paraffin oil-lamp, suspended over a low table in the room's centre. The lamp illumined a woman with loose hair and bony fingers, busied over a basin of water and the washing of several earthy and monstrous cabbages. Enters Walton ; then an old man incredibly bent, with a beard at least a foot in length and a head queerly inclined upward from the nape of the neck ; eyes rimmed with a bricky redness ; the pupils had hardly more colour than the parchment-yellow of the whites they were set in. The dry withered fingers brushed like moths' wings under Walton's chin. Walton's flesh had

frozen, yet not with fear or horror. The woman drew the blunt edge of her palm across the old man's neck. He thought it was a knife or a rope, and crumpled suddenly into a looser bag of gristle and little bones than had first entered the room. He tottered towards the hole whence he had issued.—He was the woman's grandfather, and only wanted a mug of beer from the stranger.

10. He was tall, sallow and emaciated, with damp, black hair that fell low over his forehead; his clothes were dingy and showed little sign of ever having fitted him. As I watched him fidgeting with his shabby black hat, I felt sure that he had not seen the inside of a decent restaurant for a considerable while.

11. As the gondola drew alongside, the black patch slid under the water and there appeared in its place a gleam of whiteness, then features, a forehead, a nose, a mouth. They constituted a face, but not a recognisable one. He will dirty the gondola and spoil the carpet. Carpet be damned. I always told you dagoes were no good. Here, catch hold of him. Together they pulled the corpse into the boat.—The corpse came to dinner.

12. Sometimes I think it's crazy I am already, the way mother is; there's mother does be laughing to herself and singing, and she with the blindness and all. The man was crippled in the right leg; he was thin and shrunk up; a sick, green coloured face it was; there were streams like wee rivers running from off his coat; his voice was low and hoarse from the cough there was on him.

13. His face was a mosaic of good-natured wrinkles, blinking grimaces and smiles, gathered round a suspiciously red nose and a moustache which hesitated between the whiskers of a mouse and those of a walrus. The few wisps of hair protruding from under his Alpine hat were already sprinkled with grey. His entire figure looked battered, and his suit must have passed its prime many a season ago.

14. The last day was intolerable. It began despondently under a dead grey sky. Her luggage stacked in the little hall, and her rooms, stripped of her possessions, looked so cheerless. The wastepaper basket overflowed with odds and ends of discarded things. An old silk stocking hung, broken-legged, over the edge. As she stepped into the street, she was buffeted in the face by a

warm wind. It lifted the dust from the street and touselled a filthy paper about her ankles.

15. The boy dropped a coin into the dry dirty palm of the mumbling, aged, blind man, and watched the short fingers scrape its edge and close over it. The boy removed a ladder from the old man's lair.—There was a great astonished gasp and he fell flappingly like a wounded bat.

16. There was that terrible incident with the cat. He knew then that he was a little mad. He was not naturally a cruel man. The cat must die ; it was terrible, but it must die. It was an execution, passionless, inevitable. Margaret was terrified. He wasn't difficult to manage at the asylum. They soon learnt how to placate him. Gradually he assimilated the madness of his co-mates and brothers in exile.

17. The grandmother was rather a terror. She had lost the use of her legs, but she ruled from her attic. The old woman, God rest her, had a colossal appetite for whisky. She just sat there, her hands limp upon her lap, and listened.

18. The woman was big-boned, with blue eyes and straight shining hair like smooth straw. The man was tall and thin. His arm was cut off up at the shoulder : there was just a little lump of flesh hanging : we found it very hard not to stare at it when he had nothing on but bathing pants.

19. A man in a collarless shirt and khaki breeches ; one of his legs was stiff ; his face was crooked, as if something had happened to it ; one eye looked larger than the other, and he seemed to have more eyebrow on one side. Well, he said, Wad'z arl this about, nothing. Wad're hanging on my gyatt vor.

20. Both were thin and pale and a little lifeless. The man was about forty, with a head rather too big for his body. His wife was ten years younger, an inch or two taller, and had large, tired eyes and lanky brown hair.

21. A woman, wearing a flat, sage-green hat and a long, full raincoat over her spare figure, was riding slowly along on a bicycle. The garden had not been weeded ; the strips of felt had rotted from the nails ; the place smelt of decay. There was a dusty red carpet on the floor of the frowsy bedroom. On a table stood a jumble of scent bottles, dirty hair-brushes and combs, and a few soiled

handkerchiefs. She saw her husband lying under a patchwork quilt ; his head was on a dirty pillow ; his eyes had sunk into two hollows under high cheek-bones, and his lips clung together beneath a straggling moustache ; he had not been shaved for some days.

22. Two friends went for a walk. The one was mad ; he cast his friend over a cliff, and broke his legs. Next day he drowned himself. Two buzzards were hovering and calling. The buzzards knew that the friend's wounds, apparently received in an accidental fall, were of different dates, the legs broken first, and later the head battered in with stones.

And this cult of the unlovely is not confined to the short story. A recent novel that won a prize of twenty thousand dollars opens on the same note : The family portraits that hung on the dining-room wall were framed in dull gold. They could not be moved because the wall-paper had faded except behind them. They had hung in the same places for twenty years. They were gloomy black-coated individuals, these nineteenth-century ancestors. Balzac, who bridged the gap between romanticism and naturalism, saw such scenes just as clearly ; but observation was an instinct with him, a faculty of penetrating to the soul without neglecting the body ; or rather, as he says, a power of grasping external details so thoroughly that they never detained him for a moment ; he passed beyond and through them, and could enter into the life of the human creatures whom he watched ; their cravings, their needs passed into his soul, or his soul passed into theirs. Turgenev also sees and explains ; he observes and interprets.

The French stories provide little for comment. Familiar friends are here, Balzac, Gauthier, Baudelaire, de Musset, Mérimée, Daudet, Flaubert, de Maupassant, Renan, but all are dead. There is only one living writer, and his principal character is also insane. Only two lived into the present century ; but the story selected from one of them, Anatole France, is marred by the inartistic intrusion of his snickering adolescent atheism. It may well be that these old friends remain friends because one sees them so seldom. We all know the wondering scepticism our old friends arouse in the eyes of the young ; they are tolerant of us ; they find us tiresome and think us somewhat silly. So may they think of these elderly

efforts. The modern French story-tellers have turned to the old mystery of the normal human mind, but they lie beyond the range of this survey. Professor Du Roure will deal with them in due season.

The American book contains twenty-nine stories drawn from thirteen periodicals, of which five are from 'Story.' In the spring of 1931 two American journalists in Vienna, acting on a suggestion made by Mr O'Brien, issued a stencilled periodical under that name to contain stories which had proved unwelcome to most American magazines. Eighty copies were issued; and Mr O'Brien assures us it was the most distinguished literary magazine of our time. The second issue was printed by a job printer in Vienna. The two journalists lost their means of livelihood over night, and went to the island of Majorca to live cheaply. There they printed more fine short stories in two years than the entire American press had published in five, although they neither paid contributors nor advertised their wares. Then they moved to New York, where their magazine has won financial security and proudly pays contributors. This is the strange account Mr O'Brien gives of the genesis of this 'clearing house of the forgotten man, the honest writer whose work is unacceptable to the commercial magazines.'

One turns with alacrity to the five stories from this fabulous source. The first is in the form of a letter written to the manager of a tramways by a conductor who had lost his job. The letter covers eleven printed pages, and typewritten would occupy twenty-five. It might have occurred to the author that the manager, and still more the commercial editor, would not read the letter, and that the final plea was in vain: Oh, for God's sake; Oh, in the name of our Saviour, please take me back, please, please. It is hard to agree with Mr O'Brien that this is a faithful reflection of the American soul and life standing out solitary against an eternal grey. The second example purports to be a transcript of the chapter a man was reading from a book. It is set in the form of a puzzle, to assign the various emotions to the proper characters—and editors are an irritable folk.

The third example reads like a series of telegrams or of pictures on the screen; without the captions the continuity is lost. 'The Martyr' is the fourth, and the title gives a

clue to the meaning : Emily rocked back and forth on the sandpaper that was scratching her bottom. Emily got up carefully so that the sandpaper would not slip out of her drawers. She had to hold her hand on her back to keep the sandpaper in place. If people saw her walking with her hand lower down, they might misunderstand and think she was like her little sister who sometimes forgot to go to the bathroom. She took the square of rough paper out of her drawers.

If it is true, as the editor protests, that the beauty of American life is not exterior, it will require a patient search of these stories for any hidden beauty to reward the finder. The last is admirable in idea and form. It occupies only two pages. One would like to know what editor was stupid enough to reject it. The remaining twenty-four are drawn from eleven magazines. Of these, eight are good, but two of them are from English sources. These are 'Fisherman's Luck,' 'The Sleet Storm,' 'In the Park,' 'A Sick Call,' 'The Black Wolf,' 'The Joybell,' 'The Fence,' 'The Honey Pot.' The editor, then, need not be too disquieted, for as he says, a year which produced one great story would be an exceptional year.

Some further notice is demanded by Mr O'Brien's complaint that the magazines are corrupting the writers, that they want standard stories and will buy no others, that all must be written to a pattern, that they prevent writers from being original and sincere. But every story is written to a pattern or rather to a design. There are good patterns for stories as well as for carpets. His complaint really is that too many stories are written to the prevailing dull pattern which he supplies in these two books. A writer who aspires to appear in the 'Quarterly Review' must conform with a style and pattern that has been agreeable to its readers for more than a hundred years. Some may think it too rich, too dignified for their taste and intelligence ; they are free to look elsewhere. There is a magazine for every style and for every taste. A writer who would succeed must either publish a periodical of his own, or discover the one with whose need his style conforms most closely. He may even vary his theme and method to suit the audience he strives to reach. Many good writers, Dryden, Milton, Johnson,

Arnold, Hardy, Kipling, have worked in media so diverse as prose and poetry.

One of the most successful of the younger writers of American short stories has recently made his private confession. As a young Welshman he came to Canada, and studied American literature from afar off. He secured a year's file of the six best magazines, and studied them. He discovered the different patterns they demanded. He first mastered the various dialects by making a series of small phrase books. In separate volumes he entered the expressions used by negroes, Chinamen, Italians, Irishmen, Scotsmen, Jews, bootleggers, gunmen, and all species of the underworld. He learned the dialects peculiar to the various regions, and especially the language of the pioneer. Then he copied the jargon of the various trades—the police, the newspaper, the railway, the financial, the religious. He had now a vocabulary. He then provided himself with material. He assembled a series of menus and wine cards, descriptive catalogues of antique furniture, plate, pictures, and Oriental objects of art. The motor car was his most profound study.

But as yet, this astute young foreigner had, to use Mr O'Brien's own words, no sensuous contact with the dynamic poise, the pure force, the energy released into action and success, the innocence of mind, the freedom from doubts and qualms, all of which, it seems, are the essence of American life. He went to New York. He walked the avenues and Wall Street; he entered hotels, restaurants, speakeasies, day and night clubs. He gazed upon the high buildings, looked upon receptions from afar off. He discovered that it was all one, with slight nuances that were apparent to his sensitive mind. He sat still and perceived the literary value of what on the surface was a mere purposeless activity. He returned to Montreal with his treasure, now fully equipped to give conscious voice to the hopes, fears, speculations, and desires of a voiceless people; and qualified to write short stories that would add colour and decoration to the line and mass of the American scene. And these stories were to be, as Mr O'Brien further recommends, pulsating in reality, realistic in their integrity, profound in their unstressed implications.

At any rate, he set to work. He selected the best

story in each of his six files of magazines. He transformed it in six different ways to match their six different patterns. He signed them with different names, and sent them to the proper markets, and sold them all. He continued the process until he had made and sold thirty-six stories. He did not confine himself to obvious fiction; his greatest success came with an article that dealt with the constructive motivation of an internationally stabilised fluctuating currency. By this time he was rich and tired. Instead of precarious cheques he accepted a salary as a play-doctor in Hollywood, where he eats turtle and Californian claret crowns his cup. In moments of remorse, he writes something for himself. He finds it hard to sell. Possibly, it was not very good; or, indeed, it may be that Mr O'Brien is right after all.

Stark is the word the most modern writers use, in the new meaning of naked; but they suggest the old meaning, stiff, dead. The nude, or, as the more delicate say, the unclothed, is their model; and this cult of the naked extended from literature to the human form. The Greek artists assembled all beauties of the body in one figure. They created the illusion that all bodies are beautiful if only they are seen unclothed. The discovery was soon made that for the most part they are ugly. Women as well as men are beginning to clothe themselves again. There are signs of the belief that in literature, as well as in life, a decent obscurity adds to the effect; and even that one can engage in a casual conversation without alarm.

In the drama people tired of the grim and the grey. They tired of pictures that stop just where the difficulty of painting begins. In fiction they are growing equally tired of grimness and greyness. They demand swift thought, ready action, the definite motive of the murderer and the facile reasoning of the detective; but that is not enough. This mood too is passing. The external and the material will not do. The scientific world itself is a failing fabric, baseless as a vision. In art the vision is the only reality. It may be that in fiction, the romance of Goethe, Scott, Gerard de Nerval and the other romancers of the last century, called by whatever name, will become the reality of this.

ANDREW MACPHAIL.

Art. 3.—THE PERIODICITY OF EARTHQUAKES.

THE life of man is governed by periodic phenomena, by the alternation of day and night, by the varying length of the day throughout the year. Depending on these changes are other periodic variations, such as the temperature of the air during the day or year. Less regular than the first, they are none the less periodic, and we may say with accuracy that the maximum temperature of the day occurs shortly after noon or that of the year some time after mid-summer, even though, in particular days or years, the temperature may then be less than at other times. In the same way we may speak of various earthquake-periods. The frequency of earthquakes in Great Britain, for instance, is ruled by a well-marked annual period. It does not follow that, every year, our earthquakes occur more often about the middle of December than about the middle of June. In particular years it may happen that the law seems to be reversed. All that can be asserted is that, if we group together a large number of years, say from 1750 to the present day, then the middle of December is the time when they will occur in greatest numbers.

The origin of earthquakes is closely connected with steps in the growth of the earth's crust, though there are also deep-seated movements as to the cause of which we are wholly or partly ignorant. Leaving the latter out of account—and they form a very small, if important, minority—it is not to be supposed that the mountain-making movements are subject to periodic laws, although at long intervals there may be times of growth and times of rest or decay. The periodicity of earthquakes is rather due to secondary causes that operate as 'last straws' in promoting or hindering displacement when the crust is otherwise on the point of moving. The case was put very clearly by Darwin, with his usual insight, nearly a hundred years ago. Writing about earthquakes to Mr David Milne in 1840, he remarks: 'On the hypothesis of the crust of the earth resting on fluid matter, would the influence of the moon (as indexed by tides) affect the periods of the shocks, when the force which causes them is just balanced by the resistance of the solid crust?' ('More Letters,' Vol. II, p. 115).

One of the most obvious periods that might govern the frequency of earthquakes is that of a year, and, as it happens, it was the first to be discovered, and that exactly a century ago. In 1834, Peter Merian, professor of physics and chemistry in the university of Basel, published a pamphlet on the earthquakes felt in that town from 1020 to 1830. During these eight centuries there were 118 earthquakes of which the month of occurrence was known. It occurred to Merian to group the earthquakes according to months, with the following result :

Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
12	14	6	5	11	3	7	8	12	11	14	15

showing that, with the exception of the month of May, there was a fairly regular decline in frequency from December to June, followed by a similar rise once more to December. Struck with this apparent law, Merian examined a few other catalogues that were then at his disposal and concluded that, on the whole, there was a tendency in earthquakes to occur more frequently during the winter months.

Thirteen years later, the next, and a very remarkable, advance was made by Alexis Perrey, professor of mathematics in the university of Dijon. In four memoirs, published between 1847 and 1875, Perrey studied the lunar periodicity of earthquakes and stated his three laws, that earthquakes are more frequent at the times of new and full moon than at those of first and last quarters, also when the moon in its course is nearest the earth, and, lastly, for any particular place, when the moon lies directly to the south. Perrey's laws have been much criticised, but the time of criticism is at last passing away, and it is becoming clear that there is truth in the first law, perhaps also in the other two laws, though at the present day it may be necessary to express them in somewhat different terms.

Since then other periodic laws have been traced or suspected. For some of the latter, such as the long period of 284 years, our catalogues are too incomplete to serve as trustworthy foundations, not even those of long-civilised countries such as China or Japan. But, for various shorter periods, up to, say, nineteen years in

length, the evidence provided by our numerous seismological stations is not only sufficient but of far greater accuracy and completeness than that at our disposal from long-past times. There can be little doubt as to the existence of such periods as those of one, eleven and nineteen years, or the shorter ones that are to be reckoned in days or even in minutes, the shortest period of which there is satisfactory evidence being no more than 42 minutes in length.

In the present article I propose to consider the different periods in groups. In the first are those connected more or less closely with the sun, of durations one year, one day and about eleven years. In the second are again three periods depending chiefly on the moon, of about 29.6 days, 14.8 days, and nineteen years' duration. In the third group may be included two periods associated mainly with the earth, the duration of one being rather more than a year and of the other 42 minutes.

How clearly marked the annual period is will be evident if we consider the earthquakes recorded at seismological stations throughout the world. Some years before his death the late Professor Turner edited a valuable catalogue of such earthquakes between the years 1918 and 1924. If we take the earthquakes of the Northern Hemisphere only and represent by 100 the average number of earthquakes occurring during each month of the year, then the number falling in the month of maximum annual frequency (middle of July to middle of August) would be 136, while six months later it would be 64. For the earthquakes of both hemispheres with their origin beneath the sea, the numbers would again be 136 and 64; for those with origins below the land they would be 122 and 78. Or, if we take only the most destructive earthquakes known to us from 1701 to 1899, the corresponding numbers for the Northern Hemisphere would be 120 and 80, and for the Southern 134 and 66. Thus, in all such cases—and their number might be considerably extended—the annual period is so marked that we can hardly suppose it to be accidental.

It is, however, the date of the maximum epoch that is in every case of most significance. Throughout the vast continental areas of both hemispheres, as well as

in the individual countries—Great Britain, France, Italy, India, etc.—this epoch in ordinary earthquakes with one exception (that of China) falls during the mid-winter months of each hemisphere. But the continental areas are fringed by certain peninsular and insular districts, such as Italy or Japan, in parts of which the maximum epoch occurs in the mid-summer months.

Turning to the great destructive earthquakes, the most striking fact is that their annual periodicity, in either hemisphere, is independent of geographical conditions. The maximum epoch occurs in the summer months, whether the regions are continental, peninsular or insular. And the exceptional case of China mentioned in the last paragraph may well be included under this heading, for the majority of recorded Chinese earthquakes are shocks of great destructive power. For instance, in the whole of Asia the epoch falls at the end of August, in China at the end of July, while in Japan and the Philippines it also occurs at the end of July. In south-west Japan, in which the epoch for ordinary earthquakes occurs in winter, that for great destructive earthquakes falls at the end of July.

Not less distinctly marked than the annual period is the diurnal period. For instance, in the earthquakes of Great Britain the relative numbers of earthquakes during the hours of maximum and minimum frequency are as 125 to 75, in Switzerland 150 to 50, in New Zealand 130 to 70. In the destructive earthquakes of Italy they are as 132 to 68, and in the semi-destructive and weaker earthquakes as 125 to 75. In the slight shocks that followed the great Japanese earthquake of 1923 the relative numbers are as 159 to 41.

In studying the diurnal period it is advisable, though not essential, to use only instrumental records. Personal observations depend on the varying conditions of observers throughout the day, and earthquakes are less likely to be noted during the busy hours of the morning than during the midnight hours, when many persons are in a wakeful and nervous condition after their first sleep. Nearly all personal records, such as the early catalogues for Great Britain or Switzerland or California, show their greatest frequency about 1 a.m., and it is usually assumed that the period is apparent rather than real. But it would seem

that this inference, though natural, is incorrect, for the same period governs the frequency of earthquakes so strong that not many people could sleep through them.

Owing to its brevity, the diurnal period is marked both in the ordinary earthquakes of any country and in the numerous after-shocks that follow great earthquakes in the more important districts of Italy or Japan. Taking the ordinary earthquakes first, the maximum epoch falls as a rule either at or near midnight or at or near noon, the average times for the two groups being 0.25 a.m. and 0.40 p.m. Now, it is a general, though not quite a universal, rule that for those regions in which the diurnal maximum occurs about midnight, then the annual maximum falls in mid-winter. Also, a diurnal maximum about noon is usually associated in the same way with an annual maximum in mid-summer. About one in every five records may perhaps provide an exception to this statement.

Whatever the secondary earthquake-producing cause may be that results in the diurnal period—and it is possible that it may be traced to variations of atmospheric pressure—we can hardly imagine that the periods with their maxima at noon and midnight are due to different causes. The two opposite epochs of the period and the general relations between the diurnal and annual periods are probably connected with the directions of the crust-displacements that cause the earthquakes. If an external force were to act downwards on the crust—such, for instance, as atmospheric pressure—with a diurnal maximum about midnight and an annual maximum in mid-winter, then, if the earthquakes were due mainly to subsidences of the crust, the diurnal and annual maximum epochs would occur about midnight and mid-winter. On the other hand, if the earthquakes were chiefly caused by uplifts of the crust, then these epochs would occur about noon and mid-summer. It is certainly significant that the midnight and mid-winter maxima should prevail in countries in which earthquakes are of slight or moderate intensity, and the noon and mid-summer maxima in those visited by the most destructive shocks.

It would seem, then, that a great earthquake is usually caused by a sudden uplift of the crust, the displaced mass probably far over-shooting the position of equilibrium.

Immediately the earthquake is over, the crust would begin to settle downwards, first in one part, then in another. This is shown by changes in the maximum epoch of the diurnal period. Immediately after the great earthquake the epoch suddenly alters from about noon to about midnight. The resettlement lasts for an interval that varies greatly in different earthquakes. It may be as short as a week, or it may amount to one or two years. But, as the interval, whatever it may be, comes to an end, the forces that produced the original earthquake tend once more to prevail, and later shocks result from movements that take place in the same direction as that which caused the great earthquake.

The eleven-year earthquake period is interesting from its probable connection with the similar period of sunspot activity. It can be traced equally clearly in the great earthquakes of the whole world or of special regions like Italy, Chile or Japan, and in the slight or moderately strong shocks of such districts as Norway, Great Britain, New Zealand or California.

Whatever the country may be, the maximum epochs occur in about the same year. As a rule the interval considered is from 1701 to 1898, and most of the first maximum epochs during the eighteenth century cluster about the years 1708 and 1709, the average for both Northern and Southern Hemispheres being in the middle of 1708.

The exact length of the epoch, it appears, is slightly less than eleven years. Taking only very destructive earthquakes from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the end of the nineteenth, the first maximum epoch after 1305 occurred in 1315 and the last before 1898 in 1895. In this interval of 580 years there were altogether 53 periods. The mean duration of the period is thus only about $2\frac{1}{2}$ days short of eleven years.

Our record of earthquakes is of course much longer than our sunspot record. If we take the numbers of sunspots for each of the years 1867 to 1899, it appears that the first maximum epoch occurred about 1871. Taking the numbers of earthquakes for each of the years from 1856 to 1899—the years during which our records are most complete—we find that the first epoch after 1867 for the earthquakes of the Northern Hemisphere occurred

in 1872 and for those of the Southern Hemisphere in 1871. Thus, in both hemispheres the maximum epochs of the eleven-year earthquake period are very nearly the same and they agree closely with the corresponding epochs of sunspot frequency. What the connection between earthquakes and sunspots may be, or how the frequency of one can affect that of the other, it is difficult to say. All that can be done at present is to point to a very remarkable coincidence.

In Perrey's time there were but meagre materials for his well-known work on the lunar periodicity of earthquakes. His latest memoir was, in fact, based on a catalogue of his own making. At the present time the materials are ample, and we have many records, both of ordinary earthquakes and the after-shocks of great earthquakes, in all of which certain lunar periods are evident.

Taking, first, Turner's catalogue for the years 1918-24, we find two persistent periods in all classes of earthquakes. Their durations are 29.6 and 14.8 days, or those of the intervals from one new moon to another or of new to full moon or full to new. Whether the earthquakes are great or of moderate intensity, whether they occur in the Northern or Southern Hemisphere, the maximum epoch of the longer period falls at or about the time of full moon, and the maximum epochs of the shorter period at the times of first and last quarters. It will be noticed that the latter statement differs from Perrey's first law, for the minimum epochs of earthquake frequency and not the maximum occur at the times of new and full moon. In no class, however, are the periods very distinctly marked. For the longer period the relative numbers of earthquakes at the maximum and minimum epochs are, on the average, as 112 to 88, and for the shorter period as 110 to 90.

The reason for this comparative indistinctness becomes apparent if we separate the earthquakes with origins beneath the sea from those with origins below the land. It then appears that, for the longer or lunar period, the maxima of the former occur about full moon and of the latter about new moon. In the shorter or semi-lunar period the maximum epochs fall about the times of first and last quarters for submarine earthquakes and about the times of new and full moon for terrestrial earth-

quakes. In all cases the periods are clearly marked. It is this opposition in epoch for the two classes of earthquakes that renders the periods for them when combined somewhat inconspicuous. Moreover, as the greater number of earthquakes originate beneath the sea, the epochs for both classes combined agree with those for submarine earthquakes only. It will be noticed, also, that the epochs for terrestrial earthquakes in the shorter period agree with Perrey's first law, and this is what we should expect as Perrey's catalogue is confined to earthquakes observed on land.

In the ordinary earthquakes that occur in various regions of the earth, regions like Great Britain or Italy or California, as well as in the after-shocks of great earthquakes such as the Messina earthquake of 1908 or the Japanese earthquake of 1923, the same laws prevail. The maxima of the lunar period occur about the times of new and full moon, and those of the semi-lunar period either with new and full moon or with first and last quarters. It is also a general, though not a universal, rule that, when the maximum of the lunar period occurs with new moon, then the maxima of the semi-lunar period fall about new and full moon; and when the maximum of the lunar period occurs with full moon, then the maxima of the semi-lunar period falls about the times of first and last quarters.

A volcanic eruption is always associated with an intense spell of slight earthquake shocks. They are at times so numerous as almost to defy record. The lists that we possess for a few eruptions, such as those of Hawaii or of the Asama-yama and the Usu-san in Japan, show that the maxima of the semi-lunar period coincide very nearly with the times of first and last quarters. A very remarkable result of the Usu-san eruption of 1910 was the gradual, but intermittent, rise of the adjoining coast. The heights of the coast were measured every day for about five weeks after the eruption, and they also are marked by a semi-lunar period, the greatest heights occurring close to the times of first and last quarters.

There can be little doubt that these variations of epoch depend on the directions of the crustal movements that cause the earthquakes. When the moon is new, the

attractions of the sun and moon act in the same direction, and we should expect the maxima of the lunar period to occur with new or full moon according as the crust movements are those of elevation or subsidence. Similarly, the maxima of the semi-lunar period should fall at the times of new and full moon if the earthquakes are due to uplifts, and at the times of first and last quarters if they owe their origin to subsidences. It is interesting to notice that the maxima of the semi-lunar period agree with the times of first and last quarters in many series of after-shocks, in volcanic earthquakes, in the earthquakes of many maritime regions, and in all submarine earthquakes.

We come next to two remarkable periods, remarkable because they show how causes that are apparently slight can notably affect the frequency of very great earthquakes. The first is a period of nearly nineteen years. For the study of this period we have to depend on catalogues of rather long duration. Professor Milne's great catalogue of destructive earthquakes all over the world is one of the most useful for the purpose. It covers the Christian era up to the year 1899, and is especially full from the year 1701 onwards. All over the Northern Hemisphere the maximum epochs for destructive earthquakes, as well as for those of slighter intensity, cluster about the years 1714-17, with an average of 1715½. In the Southern Hemisphere we have few records to depend on, but in these the epochs cluster about the years 1704-07, with an average of about 1705½, that is, the maxima in the Northern Hemisphere occur at about the same times as the minima in the Southern.

Though the duration of the period is roughly nineteen years, it is in reality slightly less. Taking six successive intervals of 95 years beginning with 1321 and ending with 1890, we find that the first maximum epoch of this period occurred in 1330 and the last in 1887. In this interval of 557 years there were 30 periods, giving an average duration for the period of 18·6 years. This duration is exactly that of what is known as the nutation period of the earth, nutation being a small displacement of the earth's axis due mainly to the moon. During the nineteenth century this deflection was greatest in one direction in 1811 and at intervals of 18·6 years to 1885½,

and greatest in the opposite direction in 1820 and at the same intervals until 1894½. It is unnecessary, perhaps, to compare the epoch, at every stage, but, in the Northern Hemisphere, the first maximum of the earthquake period occurred in 1810–11½ and the last minimum epoch in 1894–94½. In the Southern Hemisphere the first minimum epoch occurred in 1808–10 and the last maximum epoch in 1893. Thus the maxima in one hemisphere and the minima in the other agree closely with the years in which the nutation effects are greatest and least.

The occurrence of great earthquakes is also closely connected with the times of other minute changes in the direction of the earth's axis. These changes are made evident by variations in the latitude of astronomical observatories, and they are so small that the wanderings of either pole are confined within the area of a few yards square. Yet, as Milne showed in 1900, great earthquakes are frequent about the times when changes occur in the direction of the polar displacements and especially when the rates of change are rapid. A curious feature of these slight displacements is that, as Omori has pointed out, they affect only the destructive earthquakes of Japan. These, he says, have a marked tendency to occur at the epochs of maximum or minimum latitude of Tokyo, whereas earthquakes of a moderate or slight degree of intensity are unaffected by the changes of latitude. A detailed comparison recently made by Professor Nagaoka leads to similar results. Great earthquakes, he finds, change the course of pole shift and mostly form angular points in the diagram of its movement, and the velocity of the pole changes both before and after great earthquakes.

How greatly what seem to be rather ineffective causes may affect the frequency of earthquakes is well shown by the last period that I propose to consider, namely, that of 42 minutes' duration. When a great earthquake occurs at a moderate or small depth below the surface, the resulting waves speed through the body of the earth and reach the antipodes in almost exactly 21 minutes. Without a moment's pause they then return and reach the focal region of the original earthquake after the lapse of 42 minutes, and, as the crust there remains for long in a very sensitive condition, it would seem possible that

they may promote or retard the occurrence of after-shocks. They would promote them if the crust were on the point of slipping in the same direction as during the principal earthquake, and retard them if it were on the point of slipping in the opposite direction. In other words, if the initial movement were to be continued, the epochs of the 42-minute period would occur at intervals of 42 minutes from the great earthquake. If the after-shocks were mainly due to slips in the opposite direction, then the minima should occur at similar intervals.

One of the most interesting earthquakes from this point of view was the great Japanese earthquake of 1923. This occurred on Sept. 1, at 11h. 58m. 44s., a.m., Japan standard time. It was followed by a great number of after-shocks, one of which took place exactly 41 min. 36 sec. after the beginning of the great earthquake. On the next day it was followed at 11h. 46m. 55s., a.m., by a shock very nearly as strong as that of the first great earthquake. The interval between the two shocks was 1428 min. 11 sec., or 11 seconds more than 34 intervals of 42 minutes each. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the early prominent after-shock and the second great earthquake were both precipitated by return movements due to the first great earthquake.

In recent years such close attention has been paid to recording the exact times of all the after-shocks of great earthquakes, that it has been found possible to detect the 42 minutes' period in the after-shocks of no less than 25 earthquakes. As a rule the period seems to be confined to the after-shocks of great earthquakes, possibly because it is with them alone that large numbers of after-shocks occur. Yet three at least of the earthquakes were of semi-destructive intensity only, and it is certainly remarkable that the vibrations of such earthquakes should on their return be capable of precipitating the occurrence of after-shocks.

At first the maximum epoch of the period usually coincides very nearly either with the return movements or falls halfway between them. To the former class belong such earthquakes as the Kingston earthquake of 1907, the Tokyo earthquake of 1921, and the two New Zealand earthquakes of 1929 and 1931. Among the latter are included the great Japanese earthquakes of

1891, 1923 and 1927, the Kangra earthquake of 1905 and the California earthquake of 1906. On the whole it would seem that the greatest world-shaking earthquakes belong to the second class, and this implies that the after-shocks of such earthquakes are due to the settlement of the crust after a first great displacement upwards.

In nearly all earthquakes however, the maximum epoch is reversed usually after a brief interval. The duration of the interval cannot be determined exactly, but it may be as short as 6 or 12 hours or as long as about 14 days. The most frequent length is about 5 days.

In some great earthquakes it is seen that more than one reversal of epoch may occur. In the Assam earthquake of 1897 there were three reversals in as many months. In the great Japanese earthquake of 1891 there were seven reversals in 13 successive days, and, in that of 1923, at least eight reversals in 10 successive days. In the New Zealand earthquake of 1929, there were six reversals in less than four months, and in that of 1931 four reversals in less than five months. Such reversals of course indicate that changes occur in the direction in which the crust is being tilted. That such changes take place more than once after an earthquake has been clearly proved by the series of levellings that were carried out at intervals across the central area of the Japanese earthquake of 1927.

One rather interesting point in connection with this period is the length of time for which it may last. In moderately strong earthquakes, such as the Riviera earthquake of 1887 or the Messina earthquake of 1908, the length of the interval is about two weeks; but in the great destructive shocks, like the Japanese earthquakes of 1891 and 1923 or the Assam earthquake of 1897, the throbbing of the earth may be strong enough to affect the frequency of after-shocks after two, three or even four months.

C. DAVISON.

Art. 4.—CANADA AND ITS BANKS.

THE Canadian system of banking has profoundly affected and been affected by the political and physical environment. Politically, Canada comprises various territories acquired by Great Britain from time to time, some by conquest and some by settlement, of which British Columbia was the last to be occupied in 1858. As originally constituted the Dominion was composed of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. They were finally united by the British North America Act of 1867. Provision was made in the Act for the admission into the Confederation of British Columbia, Prince Edward Island, the North West Territories and Newfoundland. Newfoundland elected to stand out (and still stands out), but the others gradually came into the Federation—Manitoba, as part of the North West Territories, in 1870, British Columbia and Prince Edward Island in 1873, Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. Constitutionally, Canada, it should be noted, is not a Federation of States as in America, but a Federal State; that is to say, the Provinces surrendered to the Dominion by the Act of Union all their powers, subject to certain specified exceptions, instead of retaining all their powers and relinquishing only the exceptions as in the Act of Union of the United States of America. They were not deprived of all their civil rights, which are still jealously held; it was their administrative powers which were severely curtailed. The control of currency and banking, for instance, is especially reserved to the Federated Government. Nevertheless, although definitely a federal state, it must be admitted that the visitor's first impression of Canada is of a congeries of states rather than of a unified Dominion, states differing widely from each other in their geography, their economy, their origin and their history. The Maritime Provinces (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island) have each a history of their own; Quebec has another; Ontario a third; the Prairie Provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta) a fourth; and British Columbia, with the Yukon, a fifth. Nor can one escape the constant feeling of pressure from the contiguity of the United States. Before the railway was completed it was not possible to

go west with the early settlers unless you went round by Chicago or California. And yet beneath all this outward diversity there is a deep underlying sense of unity which appears to justify the Canadians in feeling that, more perhaps than the inhabitants of any other Dominion, they are ineluctably one.

Physically, Canada is a country of rich and varied resources, distributed over vast areas, separated by gigantic physical obstacles and only made accessible by triumphant but costly railway enterprise. There are first the Maritime Provinces, peopled by colonists of British and French stock, for the most part engaged in the fur trade, in fishing, lumbering and mixed farming. Then come the regions of the Great Lakes with a relatively denser farming population. Quebec and Ontario account for more than half the population, and it was their superior purchasing power which provided the markets for the early industrial development of central Canada. Separated by an eight-hundred-mile belt of barren scrub, which for long presented a formidable obstacle to the early pioneers as they forced their way westward, are the Prairie Provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and, finally, on the other side of the mountains, British Columbia, with its superb climate and its immense undeveloped resources in mines and rich agricultural lands, of which only one-tenth is as yet settled. The contrasts presented by the variety of physical features and the consequent diversity of economic life are very striking and fill the passing traveller with mingled amazement and admiration as he views the achievements of an indomitable people who in less than three generations—the Federation of Canada dates from 1867—have subdued the natural obstacles to union and, by driving their railroads across the desert and over the mountain ranges, have joined the Atlantic to the Pacific seaboard and completed the last link in the Imperial highway which now encircles the globe. That these immense obstacles should have been surmounted in a little over a hundred years is a wonderful tribute to the vigour and enterprise of a sparse population which has never exceeded three persons to the square mile. This, then, was the political and physical environment in which the Canadian banking system was brought to birth and to which it had to adapt itself.

The development of a country so situated naturally proceeds from an agricultural to an industrial economy. The early settler is first of all concerned with the productions of the necessary foodstuffs and raw materials, the surplus of which can be exported to obtain the foreign capital required to facilitate development and to pay for the import of such commodities as can be produced more economically abroad, until such time as increasing division of labour renders it possible to secure for the population a more diversified economic life by manufacturing them to relatively greater advantage at home. Then follows the necessary concomitant of all economic progress, the provision of adequate banking machinery for maintaining the stability of the currency, facilitating payments between one part of the country and the other, creating convenient markets for the exchange of goods and services, and promoting industrial development by the provision of the necessary capital.

It was to an adjacent part of the continent of North America that the Canadian pioneers first turned for a model on which to found their banking system. The first charter, granted to the Bank of Montreal in 1822, contains all the important clauses and even some of the phraseology of the charter of the First Bank of the United States of America, an example which appears to have been followed in most of the Bank charters of Upper and Lower Canada. The predominant influence of America was not, however, to remain unchallenged. It was gradually undone as the young Scottish bankers, from whom the personnel was mainly recruited, rose to positions of authority in the new Canadian banks. They would not have been Scots if they had not clung tenaciously to the banking tradition to which Scotland owed its economic salvation and striven to apply to the country of their adoption the banking methods which had proved so successful in the country of their birth. From the middle of last century the development of Canadian banking has proceeded largely on the lines of the Scottish banks.

Up to 1867 the Canadian provincial banks had power under the then existing legislation to issue their own banknotes, to open branches or agencies and generally to transact any legitimate banking business. On the other

hand, they were prohibited from lending money on land (an invaluable safeguard), from making advances against bank shares (including, of course, their own), and from charging a higher rate of interest than seven per cent. In the event of insolvency the shareholders of the Bank were to be liable for twice the amount of their shares. The consolidating Act, the Bank Act of 1871, continued the charters of the banks existing at that time and empowered them specifically to carry on "such trade generally as appertains to the business of banking." Banks were required to have a capital of not less than \$500,000, of which \$100,000 must be paid up before the bank opened its doors and another \$100,000 within two years. There was no stipulation as to bank reserves, except that not less than one-third of their cash must be legal tender Dominion notes. Banks were entitled to issue their own notes, which were not legal tender, in denominations of \$4 and upwards. By the Act of 1880, notes were made a first charge on the bank's assets, in case of insolvency, not even excepting debts due to the Crown, whether in the right of the Dominion or the right of any Province.

The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific during the decade 1880-90 marked a rapid, perhaps too rapid, increase in economic and financial expansion. Thirteen new banks were formed, while the number of branch banks was more than doubled. The pace was too hot to last. Many banks had to close their doors with heavy losses to shareholders, depositors, and holders of bank-notes. New protective legislation was called for, and in the decennial revision of the Bank Act, which took place in 1890, several new features were introduced. The minimum capital was raised to \$250,000, and it was stipulated that this amount must be lodged with the Minister of Finance before the new bank could open its doors to business. It was also provided that banks should deposit with the Minister of Finance five per cent. of their average note circulation (further assessments might be made if necessary) in order to form a Bank Circulation Redemption Fund for bank-notes.

A singular anomaly is to be found in Section 88 of the Act of 1890, which authorises banks to make

advances on certain classes of goods in transit or in process of manufacture, and to waive the production of the warehouse receipt or bill of lading. This facility no doubt offered a valuable stimulus to production and trade in the early days of the country's development, but, directly contravening, as it does, the general principle of law that a borrower cannot pledge articles which he retains in his own possession, it must be held to weaken an important adjunct of credit and of trade. It is at least arguable that this section of the Act has outlived its usefulness and ought now to be repealed.

The period of depression ended with the nineties, and at the beginning of this century railway construction and growth of population continued rapidly to expand up to the outbreak of war. Twenty new bank charters were granted. The Canadian Bankers' Association was incorporated to promote generally the interests and efficiency of banks, with power to establish voluntary clearing houses and to supervise the issue and destruction of bank-notes. Subject to the approval of the Treasury Board, the by-laws of the Association were enforceable at law. During this period banking facilities were greatly increased in order to cope with the feverish activity of trade, and also of agricultural development in the Prairie Provinces. The right of the banks to issue notes was limited by their charter to the amount of their paid-up capital, and, although twenty new banks had been added to the existing number between 1901 and 1908, there were signs of this limit being reached, especially during the crop-moving season. The Bank Act was accordingly amended in 1908 to enable the banks to make additional issues up to 15 per cent. of their combined capital and reserves during the crop-moving season from Oct. 1 to Jan. 31 of the following year, subject to a maximum tax of 5 per cent. The potential note circulation was further extended at a later revision of the Act by the authority given to the banks to issue notes to an equivalent amount of gold or Dominion notes deposited by them in the central gold reserve which was set up in 1913.

There were thus, when war broke out, three ways in which the chartered banks were entitled to issue notes. First, an issue free of tax up to the amount of their paid-up capital. Second, an additional issue equal to

15 per cent. of the paid-up capital and reserves on payment of a tax of 5 per cent. Third, an issue of dollar for dollar against gold or Dominion notes deposited in the central gold reserve. It will be remembered that bank-notes, although they constitute the greater part of the paper money in circulation of \$5 and upwards, are not legal tender. The issue of Dominion notes, which do enjoy legal tender, was determined originally by the Dominion Note Act of 1868. This limited the issue to \$8,000,000 with a special reserve of 20 per cent. in respect of the first \$5,000,000 and of 25 per cent. in respect of the balance. By 1913 the issue had been enlarged to \$30,000,000 with a reserve of 25 per cent. in gold or guaranteed debentures. Above this limit all notes issued had to be covered dollar for dollar in gold. With the progress of the war further changes were introduced. The limit of issue with a 25 per cent. reserve was raised to \$50,000,000. Subsequently an issue of \$16,000,000 was made against railway securities guaranteed by the Canadian Government, and in 1917 an emergency issue of \$50,000,000 was made to finance war purchases in Canada by the British Government. By 1927 this emergency issue had all been redeemed.

With the outbreak of war in August 1914, there were signs of financial panic. There were runs on many of the banks, and in centres like Montreal and Toronto the withdrawals of gold were considerable. In order to stem the panic, advances were freely made to the banks by Orders in Council in the form of Dominion Notes against securities deposited by the banks with the Minister of Finance. These Orders in Council, and with them the advances, were confirmed by the Finance Act of 1914. Finally, by the Finance Act of 1923, the Minister of Finance was authorised to issue Dominion notes to the chartered banks up to an unspecified amount in any one year against the deposit of approved securities, and to fix the rate of interest to be charged on the advances. The maximum amount advanced under the Act was \$112,900,000 in November 1929. In order to complete our survey it may be added here that the failure of the Home Bank of Canada in 1923 led to the appointment of an Inspector General of Banks with powers to examine at his discretion into the affairs of each bank, and to report

to the Minister of Finance. If satisfied that the Bank is insolvent the Minister may, without waiting for the bank to suspend payment, call upon the Bankers' Association to appoint a curator to assume control until the bank either resumes business or goes into liquidation.

The Gold Standard had been adopted by the United Provinces of Canada, now Ontario and Quebec, in 1853. It was taken over by the Dominion at its formation in 1867. In Canada, as in Great Britain, the Gold Standard of these early days was operated in accordance with what is sometimes called 'the rules of the game.' Dominion notes were payable in gold on demand and the gold so obtained was exportable at will. The note issue could only be increased by a corresponding increase of gold in reserve. An import of gold was followed by an expansion of credit and, conversely, an export of gold by a contraction of credit. It passes the wit of man to devise a monetary system which shall be wholly automatic, but it may be said of the Gold Standard that it was as automatic as it is possible for any currency system to be. The need of human interference, however, although reduced to a minimum, could not be eliminated altogether. Some degree of management was indispensable, but this was just what the Canadian bankers were very reluctant to admit. They placed an exaggerated and unwarranted emphasis on the automatic action of the Gold Standard in regulating the volume of currency and disclaimed for their part any responsibility for its control. The stability of the currency and the foreign exchanges, or the adjustment of internal to external prices, was not, they held, a banking function at all. These were matters which might safely be left to the play of supply and demand without any interference on the part of the banks. The proper functions of a bank began and ended with receiving deposits from one section of the community and lending them out to another.

The truth, of course, was far otherwise. The banks had no choice in the matter. Like Monsieur Jourdain, who had been talking prose all his life without knowing it, the banks had in fact been managing the currency all along. It was not a question of choice. They could not help themselves. Consciously or unconsciously, whether they liked it or not, it was the banks who, by their daily

operations, were responsible for regulating the volume of credit by which the stability of the price level and of the foreign exchanges was largely determined. Once this is admitted it becomes difficult to resist the corollary that, if management there must be, surely it is better to have a consciously planned and ordered monetary management, directed by human will and intelligence, rather than to refer currency control to the vagaries of blind chance.

It is true, of course, of Canada as elsewhere that the capacity of the banks to add to the existing volume of credit at any time (and therefore their power of control) was limited by the proportion they are accustomed to maintain between their cash reserves and their demand liabilities. But within these limits their powers were considerable. A bank desiring to increase its cash reserves could do so by the purchase of gold, or it might accomplish the same results by acquiring foreign devisen. Canada sells to Great Britain twice as much as she buys from Great Britain, so that the Canadian banks were always in a position to accumulate credit balances in London which they could either transfer to New York—in contradistinction to London, New York sells to Canada four-fifths of what she buys from it—or they could bring their funds back to Canada in the form of gold. In either event an additional reserve was created, either at home or abroad, which could be used as a basis for a further expansion of credit in Canada. A similar basis of credit would result from an increase in the volume or value of Canada's exports. The point is that, in spite of the negation of all control, in one way or another the banks did contrive before the war to keep Canada supplied with a continually expanding volume of credit corresponding to its economic needs. It is a tribute to the efficiency of the banks that the course of Canada's agricultural and industrial development was not in any way hampered or checked by the lack of adequate banking credit right up to the outbreak of war.

With the war came the suspension of the Gold Standard and the influx of foreign capital came to an end. The Government faced the emergency by lending their notes freely to the banks under the Finance Act, and then borrowing them back again in exchange for Treasury Bills. The Government were in fact forced like other

Governments to have recourse to inflation as a means of financing the war, and in the Finance Act they found at hand a convenient instrument for the purpose. Originally adopted as an emergency measure, it was made permanent in 1923. It will be remembered that the essence of the Act is to permit an expansion of currency, or, what comes to the same thing, to enable the banks to increase their cash reserves by the issue of legal tender notes against the deposit of approved securities. There are two conditions affecting the operation of the Act which are noteworthy. The first is that the note issues are not subject to any limitation imposed by a gold reserve, and the second condition is that the notes are only issued on the demand of the banks with whom, and not with the Government, the initiative rests. The result of this division of functions is to create the ambiguity to which we have referred, and to render it difficult to fix the responsibility for the management of the currency. The Treasury declined to assume any responsibility for controlling the issue with a view to maintaining the value of the monetary unit. The banks, who, by applying for the notes in the first instance, were responsible for the addition to the currency, disclaimed any obligation on their part to manage an inconvertible note issue as if, in fact, it were based on gold. And yet, once the Gold Standard is gone, it is doubtful if the stability of an inconvertible paper issue can be maintained in any other way. It is the main function of the Gold Standard to bring domestic prices into line with world prices, and in this way to maintain the foreign exchanges in approximate equilibrium. This operation is commonly associated with exports, or imports of gold, but it is obvious that the actual physical movement of the metal can accomplish little or nothing in itself. It is only important to the extent to which the visible movement of gold produces a psychological effect on the minds of men in inducing them to adopt one course of action rather than another. The indispensable element in the gold standard is not, as is popularly supposed, the physical movement of gold. It is the assurance, whether accompanied by gold shipments or not, that the transfer of funds from one locality to another, whether country or county, shall involve a contraction of credit in the one and an expansion of credit in the other. A payment by Montreal to Quebec

or by Quebec to London must equally tend to reduce the credit balances in the paying area and to increase them in the receiving area, otherwise the system inevitably breaks down. *A fortiori* an inconvertible paper currency will inevitably break down, unless it is managed in such a way as to ensure that the transfer of funds from one centre to another shall produce the same effect in tending to expand credit in the receiving area and to contract credit in the paying area as if an actual movement of gold had taken place. To put it in another way, it is of the essence of any monetary policy designed to preserve a reasonable continuity of values that the national currency should be managed, that is to say, should be made to behave as if it were an international currency.

The position in Canada to-day is that the banking system is administered by ten chartered banks with 3319 branches, of which 161 are located abroad. Their combined assets on June 30, 1933, amounted to \$2,889,465,918. Their total loans to the public at the same date were \$1,410,846,629, of which \$252,666,309 were loans made abroad. These banks enjoy an exceptional degree of freedom and privilege. In contrast to the banks of the United States, for example, the Canadian banks can open branches where they like and as many as they please. They can regulate their reserves at their own discretion, the only statutory limitation being that not less than 40 per cent. of their cash in Canada shall consist of Dominion notes. They can issue their own notes (a privilege denied to English banks), and, most important of all, they can at any time replenish their cash reserves by advances from the Government at moderate rates of interest of legal tender notes to an amount limited only by the capacity of the bank to deposit eligible securities as cover. It is clear that while the Gold Standard is suspended some other means must be devised for managing the currency and regulating the volume of credit if the value of the monetary unit is to be maintained. In this respect the present monetary system of Canada is unsatisfactory and defective.

The very freedom of their access to abundant and cheap Government funds relieves the banks of all anxiety with regard to the liquidity of their cash position, and exposes the more competitive among them to the tempta-

tion of utilising Government moneys, so easily obtained, for other and more profitable purposes than the strictly national services for which they were presumably intended. There is nothing, for example, in the Act to prevent a bank from employing at high rates on the New York stock exchange the funds obtained from the Government of Canada at three per cent. It is not suggested that the Canadian banks generally have succumbed to this temptation or abused their position of unwonted freedom and privilege in order to feather their own nests. The reputation of the Canadian bankers stands high. A fine tradition has been established among them of enlightened public service, which has proved to be not incompatible with a due regard for the private interests of their shareholders. It may justly be said of the chartered banks of Canada that, under the Gold Standard, they provided a banking system at once strong and flexible, which played an important part in the rapid economic development of the country. It is true that no banking system is stronger than the men who administer it. Men, no doubt, are to be preferred to measures, but it is not the part of wisdom to render their task more difficult by a reluctance to modify a monetary system, which, however well it may have served the country in the past, is no longer adequate to meet modern conditions, or, to take part in an Imperial monetary policy in which every unit of the British Empire may yet be called upon to co-operate as a means of defence against the menace to the whole Empire of the rapid economic nationalism of other countries.

An international monetary agreement, based on a reformed Gold Standard, would no doubt be most advantageous to all concerned. It is a consummation devoutly to be wished, but the difficulties in the way of its early attainment are considerable, and, in the meantime, an Imperial Sterling Union, in which other nations might be invited to join, would appear to be the only practical alternative. This would mean establishing a definite link between the pound sterling and the Dominion currencies at a rate of exchange appropriate to their different price levels. From this point of view, there would be no more difficulty in attaching the Canadian dollar to the pound sterling than there has been in linking the pound sterling to the Egyptian pound, or the Indian

rupee. The selection of an authentic indicator of the relative price levels, especially between countries in different stages of industrial development, no doubt presents considerable difficulties, but the concept of a price level is not unfamiliar and, once it is realised that the rate of exchange between any two countries is the measure of differentiation of their respective price levels, it should be possible by trial and error to arrive at an approximate degree of stability. It may be that prices may prove intractable even with a Central Bank, but it is certain they cannot be controlled without one. The means by which a Central Bank can exercise its influence in bringing about the desired result will be found fully elaborated in the Report of the Gold Delegation of the League of Nations and need not detain us here. The point to bear in mind is that the value of a currency in the main depends, like everything else, upon supply and demand. Stability can only be attained if the value of the currency in terms of commodities, if the volume of credit available coupled with the rapidity of the turn-over, is sufficient and no more or no less than sufficient, to exchange goods and services between those who make use of that currency. This is essentially a function of co-operative central banking. In a paper currency economy the export and import of gold which prevailed under the gold standard régime can no longer be relied upon as a sufficient indication of temporary disequilibrium. A substitute would have to be found in the close co-operation of the Central Banks within the Empire in keeping each other fully informed of any movements affecting their own currency, in order that all could combine to iron out any temporary fluctuation unrelated to trade and to unite in defending the weak spot against the attacks of speculators.

For this purpose, the Central Bank would have to rely generally on the exchange markets of London and New York, which, owing to the variety and extent of their international trade, are enabled to act as clearing houses for the settlement of transactions in almost all the currencies of the world. No difficulty is found in obtaining at any time large supplies of dollars in the London market in exchange for currencies of other countries, including, of course, Canada.

Too much has been made of Canada's indebtedness to

the United States. The objection has little validity. The purpose for which the foreign currencies are required is immaterial. It makes no difference, from an exchange point of view, whether the objective is to pay for goods imported or to redeem foreign debts. In contracting a foreign loan, a country may be said to export its bonds, and, in discharging a foreign loan, to import its bonds. The first is an invisible export; the second, an invisible import. The point to be emphasised is that the payment of foreign debts is discharged in exactly the same way and subject to precisely the same conditions as a payment for imported goods. Loan operations are, in part, an item in the import trade of a country which has to be paid for, like any other item, in gold, goods or services. From that point of view, Canada's indebtedness to the United States is merely a part of her adverse balance of trade, and is no more to be regarded as an obstacle to her joining a Sterling Union than Great Britain's large adverse balance of trade with the United States is a valid reason for abandoning the Gold Bullion Standard. Imports must be paid for by exports and, so far as the exchange operation is concerned, it is a simple matter for Canada to purchase in London, out of the surplus sterling received for her exports, the dollars required to discharge her obligations to the United States.

Canada is, however, in a relatively weak position, economically and financially, vis-à-vis the United States, and this might tend to give the American dollar a preponderating influence over the Canadian dollar. This tendency might be mitigated and perhaps averted if a Canadian Central Bank, acting as a member of the Sterling Union and in full knowledge of the movement of other currencies, were enabled, in concert with its partners in the Sterling Union, to take such effective measures as they might devise for dealing with temporary and seasonal fluctuations.

We have already shown cause why, for internal reasons, the Finance Act should be modified or abandoned. As an emergency measure it may have been justified, but it is clearly inexpedient in normal times that the Government, which is itself the chief borrower, should be also the original source of credit and the direct instrument for controlling the volume of

the currency and, therefore, to a large extent, the final arbiter and distributor of purchasing power. There is always the risk of the Government being impelled by political pressure to engage in schemes of social expenditure, which, however meritorious in themselves, may be carried beyond the taxable capacity of the country at the time and thus lead to the extremely hazardous device of inflation. On the other hand, to entrust the banks with the control of credit is to incur the danger of provoking the popular suspicion that, as profit-earning institutions, they may be tempted in the exercise of their quasi-monopolistic powers to impose an unwarranted burden upon industry by agreeing among themselves to maintain higher rates of interest than would otherwise obtain under conditions of free competition. Alternatively, in a speculative boom, for example, they may be led into furthering, or at any rate failing to check, by an early rise in the rate of interest, an expansion of credit which, while profitable to private banking interests, may be inimical to the public weal. It would be expecting too much of human nature to ask the ten commercial banks of Canada, engaged in active competition with each other, to sink their mutual rivalries, if need be to subordinate their profits, in order to co-operate solidly in the prosecution of an agreed financial policy.

An independent organ is needed. In Canada there does not at present exist any single authoritative institution to which the Government can apply for practical guidance in framing its financial policy, none which can represent it abroad and expound in international conference the authentic monetary policy of Canada. On the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Currency and Banking under the chairmanship of Lord Macmillan, this reproach is about to be removed. A Government Bill for the establishment of a Central Bank for Canada has been presented to the Legislature and is now being discussed. It is hoped that Canada will not much longer remain, almost alone among the Powers, an exception to the general rule of possessing a central bank as an integral part of the financial machinery. Canada is coming of age !

The primary function of a Central Bank is to regulate the volume of credit and, indirectly, influence the general

level of prices and of industrial activity. It follows as a logical sequence of this process that if the Central Bank is to exercise effective control over the banks' reserves, expanding and contracting them at will, it should, by a monopoly of the note issue, be constituted the original source of credit. As the bankers' bank it will be the depository of a part of their cash reserves; as the fiscal agent of the Government, the custodian of all Government funds and of the gold reserves of the country.

It would, of course, be an abuse of privileges granted to a central institution in the common interest if they were used as a means of entering into open and unrestricted competition with the commercial banks. It is the duty, it is indeed the *raison d'être*, of a Central Bank to promote the welfare of the commercial banks and to refrain from any action which might tend to their detriment. Nevertheless, it would be idle to disguise that, unless the Central Bank is competent to accept, for instance, deposits from bill discounters as well as banks, and, within prescribed limits, to engage in ordinary banking transactions, it would be impossible for it to exercise the effective control of the money market which is essential to its purpose. Equipped with such powers the services which a Central Bank may be expected to perform for Canada are conveniently summed up in the words of the Royal Commission's report:

'It would substitute for the present undeveloped and anomalous system a more rational and unified control over the credit structure; it would provide a suitable instrument for the execution of a national policy in regard to the external value of the currency; it would be increasingly a source of skilled financial advice for the Dominion and possibly for the Provincial Governments; and, finally, it would provide a central body which could maintain relations with similar institutions in other countries, which find at present no counterpart in Canada with which to maintain contact.'

C. S. ADDIS.

✓ Art. 5.—THE AGE OF CREEVEY.

1. *Creevey's Life and Times, a further Selection from the Correspondence of Thomas Creevey, 1768-1838.* Edited by John Gore. Murray, 1934.
2. *The Creevey Papers.* Edited by the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell. Two volumes. Murray, 1904.
3. *Lord Granville Leveson Gower. Private Correspondence, 1781 to 1821.* Edited by his daughter-in-law, Castalia, Countess Granville. Two volumes. Murray, 1916.

NOTHING, perhaps, illustrates better the power of the eighteenth-century aristocracy than the mass of legend and tradition it left behind it. That society has lived ever since in the likes and dislikes of posterity. The explanation is not obscure. A society that wishes to make itself interesting to its successors must create some unity of taste and culture, and no society was ever more successful in that sense. The characteristics that distinguish the furniture, the building, the literature of the time suggest ideas that are intelligible and comforting, order, fitness, finish and composure. In his penetrating study of democracy in America, De Tocqueville drew a contrast between the taste that is formed in a leisured society and that which is improvised in a society without leisure. The man or the class used to leisure need not consider anything but quality. A man or a class that spends most of its life in busy and engrossing pursuits, uneducated by leisure to demand the best, puts up with what he calls imperfect satisfaction. In a society, so he argued, where the dominating taste is that of a small leisured class, able from its circumstances to satisfy its desires, and able from its compactness and unity to create a certain common culture, to develop common standards of criticism, the taste of the few governs all production and colours the life of the age. The poor use beautiful things because the rich demand them.

So with the converse. If in England De Tocqueville saw a society harmonious in this sense, in America he saw a society in which the growth of mass production was bringing all life down to the standards of imperfect satisfaction. Quantity was driving out quality. America seemed to him an extreme case, but the forces that were

breaking down the rule of leisured taste were of course spreading in the world. They have spread much faster and much farther since. Of modern critics and observers some regard the material conditions of life to-day as fatal to the higher satisfactions, and they think that industrialism and democracy have destroyed distinction. Others think, on the other hand, that democracy may achieve something greater than the achievement of the eighteenth century, for they hope for a common culture that will represent a cultivated community whereas the only common culture of the eighteenth century represented a small cultivated class. But whether men hope or whether they despair, they look back from their complicated lives with wistful envy to that age of settled and simple charm.

There is another reason why this age has thrown so powerful a spell on its successors. Men and women are always more interesting than institutions. Professor Trevelyan pointed out in his 'History of England' that the Whig revolution was a lawyer's triumph, and that the lawyer's point of view predominated in the eighteenth century. This meant that vested interests were undisturbed. All the corporate institutions were full of abuses. This was true of Church, Schools, Universities, Civil Service and town corporations. But all abuses were left alone. There was none of Bacon's desire to see 'the civil State purged and restored by good and wholesome laws, made every third or fourth year in Parliaments assembled, devising remedies as fast as time breedeth mischiefs.' Consequently, all the virtue and energy of the age is found not in corporate bodies but in men. It is predominantly the age of individual genius, individual character, displaying and expressing itself in an unregulated world. So true was this that when the nation began to rebuild a system of education, opponents could point to such names as those of Telford, Brindley and Metcalf to show what unlettered men could make of their lives. The active history of the eighteenth century is the history of men and women, not of cities, or universities, or churches. A simple illustration will show how much less interesting the second kind of history is than the first. Between 1850 and the present day the town life of the British people has passed through a

revolution : a revolution touching the life, the habits, the dignity, the horizon of the great mass of men and women much more closely than they were touched by the Whig revolution of 1688. Yet it is impossible to find any book that records these local revolutions. Historians looking for a subject have never thought it worth while to describe the struggles in Sheffield or Leeds, Bradford or Manchester for public parks, for libraries, for the decencies and amenities of social life. In 1830 the state of the British towns would have put a citizen of the Roman Empire to the blush. The struggles that brought them out of the barbarism described by Southey in a book that showed greater insight than the contemptuous criticism that Macaulay poured upon it, have never been recorded. There is no market for local history, for few will read the history of a town if they can read the history of a man. Mr Frederic Harrison remarked that Plutarch's Lives have been for the general public the only source of knowledge of the genius of antiquity. And no age produced so many men in different fields, about whose lives succeeding ages have been curious, as the eighteenth century.

If we can accept Dr Redlich's view that the eighteenth century, which ended in Europe in 1789, ended in England in 1832, Creevey's life falls into the last chapter of this age. But the chapter is in some senses the most interesting of all because it may equally be described as the first chapter of another age. One of the most famous passages in literature is the passage in which Gibbon reflected on the fall of the Western Empire at the end of his third volume. There he raised the question whether civilisation might ever suffer such a catastrophe again. There is nothing in his discussion to suggest that he thought of revolution or imagined any violent change in the structure of his society. The passage reveals the composure and confidence of a little world that is perfectly at ease. When Gibbon was writing those pages, Creevey was a boy at school at Hackney. Creevey died in 1838. At that time the men who were reflecting on the future of society, Wordsworth or Southey, Coleridge or Mill, or the followers of Bentham or Godwin or Malthus, were debating in hope or fear questions that had never troubled the peace of the great eighteenth-century historian: the moral

foundations of society, the justice, the power and the endurance of the ties that united its members. Gibbon, thinking of the invasions of the Huns and the Vandals, congratulated mankind on the cannon and fortifications that formed an impregnable barrier against the Tartar horse, and made Europe secure against any future irruption of barbarism. When Creevey died, thinkers and historians saw on the horizon a danger that had escaped him. A Macaulay wiser than the Macaulay who, in 1830, was contemptuous of Southey's fear that the neglected industrial revolution was producing new squalor, new injustice, and new misery, was later to describe that danger in a memorable analogy. 'The Huns and the Vandals who will destroy the Christian States of Europe are being bred, not in the wilds of Asia, but in the slums of our great cities.' Creevey's age thus falls into two centuries. We may, perhaps, say that he lives in the atmosphere of one century among the problems of the other.

These problems brought out at once the weakness and the strength of eighteenth-century society. Of its weaknesses two are conspicuous in its history. It was an age of amateurs. The use of skill and expert knowledge was slight and occasional. There is consequently a striking difference between the large views of its best statesmen on foreign questions and its short views on domestic questions. Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Burke, Lansdowne, brought to bear on foreign questions such as the problems of India or those of Europe or those of the New World, an imagination that was quickened and guided by an education in the history and the mind of past civilisations. Domestic problems demanded something more than this; they demanded exact knowledge, a need of which these amateurs were scarcely conscious. The Poor Law is a good example. No eighteenth-century statesman grasped that problem as it had been grasped by the Elizabethans. Pitt was like Peel, a man who had clear sight though not foresight, and what could be more incompetent or ill-considered than the manner in which he handled this problem? Even more significant than Pitt's incompetence was Canning's levity. As social problems became more and more difficult and vexatious towards the end of the century, magistrates and parsons

and others began to recognise the importance of ascertaining the facts. One of the chief inquirers was Sir Frederick Morton Eden, who with great industry put together three important volumes on the State of the Poor. He urged Pitt to read his book and Pitt handed it over to Canning. But Canning had no taste for such study, and instead of mastering its contents for Pitt's benefit, he amused himself by writing a parody on the queer names he found in the index. At this time the administration of the Poor Law, which meant the management of the poor, the sick, the children and the old people, the unemployed, the man who had passed from one parish to another or wished to pass from one parish to another to find work, was in the main in the hands of the 15,000 parishes depending on an unsalaried overseer, appointed by the magistrates. It was an age of amateur government by a class that lived in its own isolated world. The English people were growing faster and faster into the two nations of which Disraeli spoke.

All this side of aristocratic government is well illustrated in Creevey's letters. The social problems that were neglected in the eighteenth century were growing sterner and fiercer, but Governments were no better equipped to deal with them or even to realise their existence. Mr Lytton Strachey, in his article on Creevey, pointed out the contrast between the world in which he lived and the world outside. Nothing is more significant in Creevey's pages than his omissions. A study of the life of the poor during Creevey's lifetime on the one side, and of these volumes or any others that describe and illustrate the life of the charmed circle in which their rulers lived on the other, recalls De Quincey's remark about the blotting out of a colony of Alexander's in the remote confines of civilisation. He compared it to the disappearance of some starry body which, after having been fixed in latitude and longitude for generations, is one night observed to be missing by some wandering telescope. 'The agonies of a perishing world have been going on, but all is bright and silent in the heavenly host.'

Yet if we look more closely into this bright and silent host, we can find evidence of the strength as well as of the weakness of this eighteenth-century society. A government by an oligarchy is apt to be a selfish struggle

for power and profit between powerful families. There was a good deal of this sort of politics in the eighteenth century, and the rapacity and intrigue of the time is brilliantly described in Sir George Trevelyan's 'Early Life of Charles James Fox.' But that book also describes men of integrity, of serious purpose, acting under a high sense of duty. For this element in eighteenth-century life Morley claimed the chief credit for Burke, who, finding the Whigs mere place hunters, gave them a reforming mission, substituting the large aims of the Rockinghams for the old self-seeking tactics of the Bedfords and Newcastles. Burke gave his party a point of view, a basis for politics, and a reasoned case against George III, but some of the credit for the moral reform of politics must be shared with Chatham. Certainly nobody could say of Chatham or his son, of Burke or Fox, of Lansdowne or Grey, that they were mere self-seekers in politics, and that they cherished and served no high ideals. At no time in history have men been more ready to take risks and make sacrifices for their public views. We have only to think of Chatham and the American war, of Burke and Fox on India, of Pitt on the French commercial treaty, of Fox and Lansdowne on the French Revolution, to see that the moral courage that is needed for defending views and causes that are rightly or wrongly unpopular and exposed to odium and misunderstanding was never more conspicuous. In politics as in every other department of life it was an age of men who felt that leadership implied independence.

One other aspect of the politics of the time must be noted. The lawyers' triumph at the Whig Revolution gave a special character to the House of Commons. It was not regarded as it is to-day as a legislative body. The idea of the ordinary member of the ruling class was that the country was well governed by the country gentlemen, and that Parliament had nothing very much to do. But Parliament was a tribunal; a body whose duty it was to inquire into grievances. From this view sprang very important consequences. For it led to the setting up of committees of inquiry on all sorts of subjects, and this habit, which did not lead to much legislation in the eighteenth century, laid the foundation of all the great reforms of the nineteenth. For when Great Britain had

a Parliament with a reforming temper, this method was used with great effect by men like Ashley to bring out the truth about factories and slums. And the great inquiries of the first half of the nineteenth century, Poor Law, Factories, Municipal Government, Health of Towns and the rest, led indirectly to the substitution of skilled for amateur government, and marked a stage in the creation of a trained civil service. By this method during Creevey's lifetime the knowledge and force of men like Robert Owen were beginning to influence factory reform, and of men like Bentham and Southwood Smith the treatment of public health and town development.

Not that Creevey's pages show much appreciation of these problems. Mr Gore, who gives a good defence of Creevey's private qualities, has greater misgivings about his public record. 'Nevertheless, the Galahad of politics will shake his head over him. He will question whether Creevey or his intimates ever set causes before self, even the cause of reform, and will ask, "What's he done? What great cause is he identified with?"' Creevey's letters are certainly those of a man whose enjoyment of life is not seriously disturbed by the thought of the misery and injustice of the world. There is nothing to suggest that his mind ever brooded on the men and women whose dreadful plight was described by Byron in his maiden speech in a passage that has often been quoted, the passage in which he said that he had never seen under the most despotic government such squalid wretchedness as he had seen since his return to England. On the other hand, Creevey numbered among his friends two men who were distinguished for the best virtues of the eighteenth century in Samuel Whitbread and Henry Grey Bennet. These two men displayed a spirit of independence and courage in defending the weak and the absent at a time when those qualities were specially needed. Of Whitbread it was said when he died that his presence in Parliament had been a guarantee against a host of abuses. He was the friend of the agricultural labourer at a time when his fortunes were at their lowest and his position the most defenceless. Bennet, who was unfortunately a bore in private society, rendered an important service in his exposure of the spy system. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century the problem of order was specially

difficult, for the country had no regular police service. Neither Manchester nor Birmingham had a properly organised police force till 1839, and Bradford, with a population of 60,000 people, depended on six constables. The result was the growth of a system of espionage. Bennet, who was a keen prison reformer, learned of this system in the course of his researches into the prison management, and he soon saw its dangers. Using this knowledge he took the chief part in exposing the proceedings and career of the famous spy Oliver in the north of England, and the debates on this subject did more than anything else to put an end to that system and to prepare the way for a modern police. These two men were both friends of Creevey, and that fact is to his credit.

Mr Gore has done Creevey a service in publishing in full the letter he wrote to the Duke of Norfolk when the Duke turned him out of his pocket-borough, Thetford, in favour of a man who had helped Norfolk financially. The letter is interesting for the light it throws on the working of the pocket-borough system, as well as on Creevey's spirit.

‘Cambral, August 3rd.

‘MY DEAR DUKE,

‘You will probably be surprised at receiving a letter from me, and you will not be the less so when I tell you beforehand, that my letter is to contain articles of impeachment against you. If there is anything like presumption in my venturing to arraign you, let me refer for my justification to our acquaintance of sixteen years’ duration, to my belief that our opinions upon all political subjects are substantially the same, to my wishes that upon my return to England I may live with you upon the same friendly terms as heretofore, and to my conviction that in order so to do, it is better you should learn from myself the free expression of the grievance I complain of than from any other person. . . .

‘. . . You are not the only Member of the Whig Aristocracy who has wanted in his time a loan of money, or who may want it at this present moment, yet in no other instance than your own can you recognise on the part of the Whig Aristocracy a money transaction in any of their Parliamentary returns. Suppose the Dukes of Bedford and Devonshire, the Lords Fitzwilliam, Landsdowne and others had adopted your precedent, in such a case, every opposition man that has rendered himself useful by experience, by talent or by fidelity

to publick principles must equally have given way to some money lender, and in addition too much the most valuable publick man that England can boast of, I mean Sir Samuel Romilly; such persons as Tierney, Brougham, and Mackintosh must also have been sacrificed. . . .

Creevey showed on this and other occasions that he could keep his self-respect and independence, and that the position he gained for himself was not due to subservience or docility.

To some readers Creevey's letters are chiefly illuminating for the light they throw on the party and personal quarrels that raged in this little society even when Napoleon's power was at its height. We get another picture of these quarrels in the letters of a fascinating lady of the time whose cultivated taste and sympathetic character revealed all the charm of the eighteenth century at its best. Lady Bessborough, daughter of the first Lord Spencer, the younger sister of the famous Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire and the mother of Lady Caroline Lamb, was a close friend of Lord Granville Leveson Gower, who was a Lord of the Treasury under Pitt in 1800 and Ambassador to Russia from 1804 to 1806 and again in 1807. Lady Bessborough was a Foxite; Granville Leveson Gower was a Pittite. Granville Leveson Gower's chief friend was Canning. It was Lady Bessborough's chief desire to bring Fox and Pitt together, and Leveson Gower and Canning both shared this wish. During the last years of Pitt's life there was no real obstacle of principle to this union. Indeed the position was roughly not unlike that of 1783. At that time there were three parties—the party of Fox, the party of Shelburne and Pitt, and the party of North. So far as public purposes went the natural combination was between the first two parties. Unfortunately a series of blunders, of which the worst was committed by Fox, led to the combination of the first and the third with disastrous results. In 1803 there were three parties—the party of Pitt, the party of Fox, and the party of Addington. So far as public purposes went the natural combination was between the first and the second. Unfortunately a series of mistakes, of which the worst was the mistake made by Pitt when forming his second government, led to a combination of the first and the third. When

Pitt died, a second opportunity arose, but a series of mistakes, of which the worst was committed by Fox in yielding to Grenville, led to the combination of Fox and Addington.

For the study of these events both Creevey's letters and those published in the private correspondence of Granville Leveson Gower are of the greatest importance. In Creevey we can follow the views and sentiments of the rank and file Radicals, in the world of Whitbread, Bennet and Brougham. In the 'Private Correspondence of Lord Granville Leveson Gower' we can watch the play of party feeling and of personal loyalties and personal rivalries, through the minds of two followers of Pitt and one follower of Fox, all speaking openly to each other. It is not often that historians have material so authentic and direct. We have on one side the frank criticism of Pitt's conduct by his two supporters. In February 1804, Canning sent a full account to Granville of a talk he had with Pitt, in which he had urged Pitt strongly to act with Fox. After the conversation Canning saw Lady Hester Stanhope, Pitt's niece, to whom he said that Pitt had thrown away the greatest situation a man had ever had offered him. Leveson Gower took the same view, and in March 1805 he wrote to Lady Bessborough saying he had had a long letter from Pitt justifying himself for joining with Addington rather than Fox, and 'I have read his letter with attention, and his assertions with awe, but I am not convinced.' On June 1, 1805, Leveson Gower wrote to Canning :

'I scarcely receive a Letter or Newspaper from England that does not give me fresh reason to lament Pitt's acceptance of Power upon the condition of excluding Fox from a Participation of it. He flattered us at the time, I remember, with the Hope that by an habitual intercourse with the King, he should acquire influence sufficient to persuade H.M. to agree to the formation of the broad administration he had originally recommended. Instead of attempting the accomplishment of this object, he has been beating about for assistance from stray Parties, and has at last joined himself to that which brings with it neither Talents nor Consideration, and from which he can look for nothing but hollow and insincere support.'

The difficulty was that there were strong opponents of union in both parties. Lady Hester Stanhope told

Canning that his enemies had influenced Pitt's mind against him by talking of his ungovernable ambition. In July 1805, Lady Bessborough wrote to Leveson Gower :

' My letter was scarcely gone before I got a note from Mr Adair telling me Mr Fox had received information that Mr Pitt was setting out for the King's, to lay before him a plan for new arrangements, which were afterwards to be proposed to Mr Fox and Lord Grenville. Heaven grant this may succeed, but I am terrified lest all should fail from foolish Punctilios on both sides. You know how few good friends Mr Pitt has—all the others are vehemently against ; and on our side Mr Fox and Mr Grey alone are really anxious for the marriage. The friends on both sides will, openly and secretly, throw every possible difficulty in the way.'

On the Fox side the chief open opponents were Sheridan and Tierney, and Tierney got hold of Lady Holland. After Pitt's death Fox yielded to Granville and accepted Addington, and then to please Addington, Ellenborough, the Chief Justice, was admitted into the Cabinet ; a proceeding that was justly attacked by the Opposition. Fox, who had to defend this departure in the House of Commons, observed to Lady Bessborough that the Opposition could not have ' a better question to begin upon.' A vivid picture of the atmosphere in which the Government of All the Talents was formed is given in a letter by Lady Bessborough to Leveson Gower :

' What a scene of rapacity, self-interest, discontent, envy, rancour and heart burnings this change of Administration has occasion'd ! What a torrent of low, degrading, selfish, petty passions overwhelms every thing that ought to occupy the thoughts of those that come in, and of those that go out—namely, that poor, forgotten circumstance, the good of their country ! I am so disgusted with all I see and hear that it really tempts one to think that all professions of political principle and patriotism are mere farce. I have heard unsaid in one hour all that has been asserted, preach'd up, and dinn'd into my Ears, as wrong or right for this last twenty years, and I hear things one thought disgraceful defended by the very same arguments that I was accustom'd to hear reprobated as fallacious and degrading. We must admit the Dr and all his people. Why ? Is he grown wiser or better than when it was reckon'd disgrace to sit on the same side the House with him ? Oh no, but it will conciliate the K., and he commands 40 votes. Oh, voila bien de quoi

renier tout ce qu'on a pensé, tout ce qu'on a dit pendant sa vie entière ! Do not, however, think I extend my blame equally on every one. I think Mr Fox to blame, as I us'd to do poor Mr Pitt, for controverting the intention of Nature, and allowing weak little Minds to sway Nobler ones. Take him as he is, I do not believe there is a man of greater talents, nobler heart, or purer integrity living, but tease, harass, surround him as people do now, and his judgment or his resolution fail him, and he allows himself to be led by people wholly unworthy of him.'

This passage recalls Cobbet's description of Fox as a great man who could not say 'No' to a bad man.

Grey and Canning, who drew together in these negotiations, were parted ever afterwards by a bitter hostility. Three explanations may be suggested. Sidmouth persisted in saying, and Canning in denying, that Canning had asked Sidmouth for office. Fox believed Canning's denial, but it is a little less certain that Grey did. Then there was a personal incident at the very time when there was some hope of union. Canning, defending Melville, who was Mrs Canning's great uncle, at the time of his impeachment for the Admiralty scandals, attacked Grey for joining in the campaign against Melville on the ground that charges had been brought against Grey's father and Sir John Jervis in 1795 and that Melville had defended them. A third explanation is the factious conduct of Canning when the Government of All the Talents fell over the Catholic question, for Canning, whose views on the Catholic question were those of Grey, seeing a political opportunity, went to unpardonable lengths in exciting Protestant feeling. A follower of Pitt who had fallen on this question, he did not scruple to come into office on a storm of Protestant feeling and to write of the Grenville Government :

' Though they sleep with the devil, yet theirs is the hope
On the downfall of Britain to rise with the Pope.'

Grey's bad opinion of Canning persisted to the end. He wrote to Holland in 1825 : ' I do not mean that there was any resemblance between Canning and Castlereagh in personal character and conduct ; God knows there cannot exist a greater difference between any two men, and I think it is in favour of Castlereagh.' Lady Bessborough

apparently broke with Canning in 1806. Writing to Leveson Gower on Aug. 19, she said :

'Yesterday, in walking from here to White Hall, I met the Pope. He came up to speak to me. I did not know him at first, and then was so nervous I hardly knew what I said, and must have appeared to him a compleat Idiot. I felt so angry with him that at first I was in doubt whether I should speak to him, but I certainly, as Lord Howick always tells me, have a particular faiblesse towards him, for after he went I was ready to cry. . . .'

The 'Pope' was Canning's cypher name in Lady Bessborough's correspondence with Granville. The editor remarks in a footnote that no definite reason has appeared in these letters to account for the break, but it may have been due to Canning's behaviour in playing on the ultra-Protestant sentiment which at heart he despised.

Creevey was one of Canning's most bitter critics. In 1822, when Canning succeeded Castlereagh, he wrote to his step-daughter :

'September 19, 1822.

'The King received him most graciously, which he was sure to do, and which of course proves nothing, but the quantity and universality of personal hostility to Canning is a damnable thing for him. . . . A Leader of the House of Commons, with his sole capital comprised of jokes and rhetoric, without any possessions in land or money, is ill-suited to the pride and feelings of the English Aristocracy and Gentry. Then a man once convicted in a personal matter of foul play between man and man, has a perpetual mill-stone about his neck.'

The last sentence refers no doubt to Canning's behaviour to Castlereagh when they were colleagues under Portland in 1809. The rights and wrongs of their quarrel, which ended in a duel, were fiercely debated by the public men of the time.

In these volumes we have the politics of an age described by actors and observers who were immersed in these struggles. Creevey, who may or may not have been the illegitimate son of Lord Sefton (Mr Gore who gives what facts there are has an open mind), married a friend of the Grey family, and as he had talents that made him useful and agreeable, he found his way into Parliament

and ultimately into a small office. His letters sparkle, sometimes with malice, but Mr Gore shows that he was not a man of bad heart : at any rate, between him and two great men, Wellington and Grey, there was mutual respect and liking. Lady Bessborough added to the eighteenth-century charm a special fascination of her own and her letters delight the reader, whether they are describing politics or pleasure, books or travel, the behaviour of politicians or the triumphs of the boy actor Roscius, to whom Pitt paid the compliment of adjourning the House of Commons so that Ministers might see him play Hamlet. These volumes contain some passages of great historical interest : like Creevey's talks with Wellington before and after Waterloo, Canning's account of Pitt's last days, Granville's account of the treatment of the Malmesbury Peace mission, on which he served in France, Lady Bessborough's letter on the engagement of Melbourne to Lady Caroline, and many others.

It is not often that we can find so intimate a picture of a world where party spirit, personal feeling, avarice and ambition, small and mean motives, all play their part in politics, mixed with greater and nobler purposes. Of the two chief letter-writers, Lady Bessborough lives by the charm of her character as well as by the charm of her pen. Creevey's pages delight us by other qualities than those of nobility or wisdom, but at least it must be remembered of him that when the dreaded axe fell on his sinecure he resigned the chief prize of his career with a Roman dignity.

J. L. HAMMOND.

Art. 6.—BOOKS ON ENGLISH ART.

1. *English Painting from the Seventh Century to the Present Day.* By Charles Johnson. Bell, 1932.
2. *British Painting.* By C. H. Collins Baker. With a chapter on Primitive Painting by Montague R. James. Medici Society, 1933.
3. *English Water-Colours.* By Laurence Binyon, C.H. Black, 1933.
4. *An Introduction to English Painting.* By John Rothenstein. Cassell, 1933.
5. *A Short History of English Painting.* 6. *A Short History of English Sculpture.* By Eric Underwood. Faber, 1933.
7. *English Painting.* By R. H. Wilenski. Faber, 1933.
8. *Reflections on British Painting.* By Roger Fry. Faber, 1934.

CENTENARIES and other celebrations provoke what may be called publishers' books, and the recent exhibition at Burlington House gave occasion for a good deal of writing, historical and critical. The books on the above list, by no means complete, were written, with the possible exception of the first, in anticipation or review of that gathering. They differ in the amount of previous study and scholarly habit their authors could bring to the task, but there is one curious omission which is common to them all. In none is there any mention of the chief previous labourer in the field, not even in the bibliographies, when these are supplied. The more abridged a history is, the more necessary is a carefully chosen bibliography, and it should be a point of honour with the scholar to render this justice to his forerunners. Indeed, in this region, much of it so well-trodden, there is at least as great a need now of annotated lists as of new books and lectures.

The writer to whom I refer, Richard Redgrave, was joint-author with his brother Samuel of 'A Century of Painters of the English School, with critical notices of their works, and an account of the progress of Art in England,' published in 1866. It succeeded to Allan Cunningham's pioneer work completed a hundred years ago. As this historian seems to have fallen from the knowledge even of learned men, some account of him will not

be out of place. Richard Redgrave, R.A. (1804-1888), son of a maker of strained-wire fencing, was brought up in a house on the 'King's Road' (of Charles II) in the savage neighbourhood of what is now Eaton Square. He struggled through a youth of study and teaching to be an exhibitor at the Royal Academy, and in 1840 an Associate, belonging to what may be called the Sheepshanks school of tender sentiment and careful landscape. Two incidents will give the flavour of his art. He painted 'The Reduced Gentleman's Daughter' (seeking a situation and unkindly received), and followed it up with 'The Poor Teacher' in the same vein. In the one of four versions bought by Mr Sheepshanks 'he added the children in the background, as the purchaser objected to the terrible loneliness of the forlorn governess in the empty schoolroom.' It was engraved with success.

'All could feel touched by the representation of a young and pretty girl, just at the time when she would naturally rejoice in gaiety and merriment, immured in a vacant schoolroom to take her solitary tea, and left, when worn out with her day's work, to muse over and long for homelove and happiness.'

The other story brings in Turner as the gruff and cryptic but kindly tutor of the young on varnishing days:

'I was trying to spoil my "Castle Builder" when Howard came up and said, in his frigid way, that some of the members considered the dress indelicately low. Then Turner appeared and mumbled, "What a doing?" I told him of my rebuke, and that I was endeavouring to paint the dress up higher. "Paint it lower," said he, "you want white," and wandered off. I immediately saw that the coloured dress came up rather harshly against the flesh, so I painted at once, over a portion of the dress, a band of white. Howard came round soon after and said, with a little more warmth, "Ah, you have carried it up; it is better now." It was no higher, but the sense of nakedness and display was gone. Turner again drew near, and gave a gratified grunt at my docility and apprehension; which he often rewarded afterwards by little hints.'

It is not surprising that the Englishman, thus chaperoned, was shocked when he found himself faced by

Courbet's '*Allégorie réelle*' at the French International Exhibition :

'The principal figure in the foreground is a strong-minded woman, amidst a group of gentlemen. I say "strong-minded," for immediately in front of her . . . is a female model, most common in form, who holds up a drapery before her in such a way as to make her nakedness more visible. . . . Nor is this sufficiently strong for French taste, or as a picture of "studio doings." Behind the easel, apparently posed for one of the pupils, is an undraped *male* model! The room, as I have said before, is full of friends, bearded and hoary, as well as the lady devoid of unnecessary delicacy. . . . The whole is wrought with the execution of a house-painter who has just taken up art. It is bad both in form and colour.'

The picture, now in the Louvre, was too strong in its mixture of the splendid and absurd even for the French taste of the time, and was banished from the exhibition. It has proved, alas, not quite house-painter-like enough in its technique.

Only a fond curiosity in past modes now looks out Redgrave's '*Ophelia*' at South Kensington, or his landscapes in the Creswick brand of 'nature.' But his prudish and timid practice, like that of his more celebrated contemporary Eastlake, was enough, when he dropped it for administration and history, to render him familiar with the art and to win from fellow-painters and their traditional lore a deal of inside knowledge, rendering him, indeed, something of an English Vasari. He was more than that. He was responsible for the mould given to institutional art in this country for better and for worse under the initiative of the Prince Consort. The system of central and provincial training established at South Kensington was his, and his, behind the drive of Henry Cole, who was no artist, the early development of the Museum there as an historical school of crafts. With J. C. Robinson and Drury Fortnum he foraged for examples in France and Italy. His was the earliest of our periodical match-makings between art and industry, of which the latest is now in progress. He wrote and lectured on the subject, and illustrated quite sound ideas with designs, as always, not so exemplary, and with awful examples of 1851 ornament in a 'Chamber of

Horrors' at Marlborough House. He instigated the gift by Sheepshanks of 522 pictures and drawings to the nation, and Mrs Ellison's of water colours, all these as the nucleus for a 'National Gallery of British Art' at Kensington, which still disputes that title with the Millbank Gallery, denying it the preposition 'of.' For that collection he procured a sectional building. At Lord Salisbury's he won final assent for it from Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a favourable before-dinner moment. Disraeli was shocked, and then amused, to be told next morning that the building was already begun : a telegram only had been necessary to start the wheels.

Redgrave was also Surveyor of the Royal Pictures ; did his best for the temporary protection of the Mantegnas, and catalogued the whole in thirty-four great MS. volumes. Concurrently with all this he surveyed also English Paintings, present and past, in the course of organising two exhibitions. The first was part of the 1855 International Exhibition in Paris, already referred to. At first, he says, the French were grudging of space and unbelieving, then curious, and finally admiring. The Sheepshanks painters and the Pre-Raphaelites swept the romantic critics off their feet. Baudelaire, the exquisite, followed the rhapsodies, in eleven chapters, of Théophile Gautier with praise which I have briefly referred to before, but will now quote more fully. He had announced the intention himself to treat at length this 'very singularly beautiful collection' after prolonged study, but only this endorsement is republished in his article on Gautier :

' When the works of all the artists of Europe were solemnly assembled in the Avenue Montaigne, as in a kind of æsthetic congress, who spoke first and spoke best of that English school, which the most fully informed among us could but scantily judge from stray recollections of Reynolds and Lawrence? Who grasped at once the various merits, essentially new, of Leslie, of the two Hunts, one the "naturalist," the other the leader of Preraphaelitism ; of Maclise, the daring composer, fiery and self-confident ; of Millais, poetically minute ; of J. Chalon, painter of afternoon fêtes in the parks, gallant as Watteau, dreamy as Claude ; of Grant, heir to Reynolds ; of Hook, painter of " Venetian Dreams " ; of Landseer, the eyes of whose beasts are full of thought ; of

that strange [Noel] Paton, who sets one thinking of Fuseli, and embroiders with the patience of another age a pantheistic vision; of Cattermole, watercolourist and historian, and of that other whose name escapes me (Cockerell or Kendall?) who builds on paper towns whose bridges have elephants for their piers, and let pass between their legs, in full sail, gigantic three-masters? Whose genius could at once put on the Briton? Who found the fitting words to paint the enchanting freshnesses and flying depths of English water-colour?'

Baudelaire and Sheepshanks at one; how unexpected a page in the fortunes of taste, a true *curiosité esthétique*! It is evident that both poets relied on the judgment of Delacroix, who was greatly moved. There is a moral for the indiscriminate fanatics among ourselves of contemporary French painting.* There is warning of another kind in Redgrave's experience of certain dangers attending overseas exhibitions. He discovered that the timber and paper galleries were separated by only two feet from an inflammable sugar-refinery, and insisted on a brick wall being interposed. A fire at the close threatened the whole structure, and the English fire-engine, rushed to the spot by a team of attendants, was the first there and the only one with the necessary length of hose. Redgrave's second task of this kind was the historical collection of English work in the London International Exhibition of 1862. In choosing and hanging these exhibitions he stood no nonsense about committees. Samuel Redgrave was responsible for yet other important exhibitions at Kensington.

From all this experience, checked by repeated tours to visit private collections in those pre-photographic days, Richard Redgrave, along with his inseparable brother, completed the 'Century of Painters' in 1865. Ten years later he was allowed to retire from Kensington, and afterwards from his royal post. He declined a knighthood. It was too late to paint again, for he was smitten with increasing blindness, but survived, not unhappy, till 1888. Samuel Redgrave had published in 1874 the 'Dictionary of Artists of the English School' which included architects, sculptors, and designers as well as

* Redgrave's quiet final word on the general look of his admired Leslie and the rest in Paris is 'chalky.'

painters. An abridged edition of the 'Century' was published in 1890, and in the following year a 'Memoir' of Richard by his daughter, based on his diary and letters, to which I am indebted. It adds matter about the living artists whom the scheme of his book did not include, such as Landseer and Maclise. These two shone as cheerful companions in a funeral coach. The grim and hungry scene of Turner's obsequies is memorably described; the bag of mixed biscuits and bottle of sherry for academicians who had neither breakfasted nor lunched, when they returned to the studio with its patched and leaky roof, and its flaking canvases bulging with fallen plaster.

The two volumes of the 'Century of Painters,' with their 1174 pages, are still the most solid connected account of the period they cover. The man who has the patience for chronicle work is not likely to shine equally as a critic, and Redgrave's original bias was for the 'sweet'; but he grew to have a shrewd and sober judgment, by no means to be despised. Nor does he neglect the framework of institutions, and of movements. Thus he tells of the abortive offer by Reynolds and the newly incorporated academicians to decorate St Paul's with religious wall-paintings. It was followed in 1789 by Boydell's commissions to the leading painters for his 'Shakespeare Gallery' of pictures to be engraved; the good alderman sank 350,000*l.* on his project. Then came Macklin's 'Bible,' of the same character, and Fuseli's solitary venture and failure with a 'Milton Gallery.' Finally came, on the inspiration of Munich, the competitions for mural painting in the new Houses of Parliament, from 1841 to 1861. Redgrave tells the exasperating story at length of the many called and few chosen: he was himself among the competitors, and Mr Baker's mention of his name in a footnote list is, I think, its only occurrence in the books under review. In the passage to which it is appended he excuses himself from pursuing an unexplored subject, evidently unaware of Redgrave's account.

If no one has yet superseded Redgrave for fullness and continuity within his limits there has been much devoted work on parts of an extended field. Mr Collins Baker, to whom I have just referred, has been a notable researcher, following Scharf and Cust in Tudor and Stuart portraiture. The centuries previous to these periods have

occupied a number of scholars ; much of painted books and stained glass has been reproduced ; the remains of church painting noted and uncovered, and Professor Tristram has eked out from the traces his remarkable restorations. Here is a whole chapter to be prefixed to the 'Century' in place of Redgrave's meagre pages. As I write there is a latest example, reproduced in 'The Times' of those pious labours : the Winchester 'Miracles of the Virgin,' of which some of us became aware fifty years ago in the rough sketches of Carter. It is a compensation for much of the trivial in illustrated journalism that some of our dailies and weeklies include such results of archaeological exploration. Later periods have had their students. The immensity of Turner's drawings has been catalogued by Mr Finberg. There have been monographs dealing with one artist and another, and lives in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' and in Thieme and Becker's 'Lexicon.' The Walpole Society's volumes have added to our knowledge ; Mr Whitley has ransacked old newspapers and Mr Greig disinterred the diary of Farington. Colonel M. H. Grant has printed in two great volumes notices and illustrations of no fewer than 500 landscape painters. These are formidable developments, opening a terrifying prospect for any directors of the future who should essay, in the museum spirit, to fill 'gaps' in our national galleries, and not less for the historian who respects all records down to the dullest, lest some unsuspected jewel should be overlooked.

The complete history of a school, like its complete representation, is a mirage, and any approximation calls not only for patience and assiduity, but for an equability of temper, natural or imposed, with a sacrifice of the artist's ruthlessness in choice and exclusion. Among visible aspirants to the mantle of Redgrave Mr Johnson and Mr Baker may be reckoned. Mr Johnson's sketch is chiefly based on his work as lecturer in the galleries, but he was the first to make use, for a general history, of research in the mediæval period. He has the virtues of close and tolerant observation, and practice in exposition. There are inadvertencies, such as the omission of Wright of Derby, and he has followed most of his contemporaries in a misdescription of Turner's (and Monet's) method as a 'divisionist' use of 'pure' colours. As he

realises, his steps become uncertain among the living, but he is not alone in that. To Mr Baker's history Dr Montague James has prefixed, out of his unsurpassed knowledge, a cautious summary of the mediæval period. Mr Baker is not always patient, and there are bluntnesses of taste as well as of speech to quarrel with in his criticism, but he brings the solid scholarship we know and a rare first-hand acquaintance with what he describes to this extension of the period he had made his own. Unfortunately for the chances of a completer history, he has felt compelled to resign his office as Keeper of the National Gallery, but if he has sacrificed a career in this country he will be able, in the favouring atmosphere of the Huntington Library, to devote himself wholly to study, particularly of the English eighteenth century.

With characteristic scruple Mr Baker deals little with water colour on the ground of insufficient study. On this field also there has been research from the days of Roget (who is absent from the bibliographies) to those of C. F. Bell and A. P. Oppé, and Mr Binyon supplies to our list of books a conspectus, both just and eloquent, based upon a Keeper's knowledge. It is well to remember that if all English pictures in oil were to be destroyed we should still have this second line of the water-colourists, particularly in landscape. If it is true that too many of them forced the medium in an attempt to rival oils, and had superstitions about subject—for example, that cathedrals, inside or out, are necessarily or even probably good material—there has been enough achievement in this more abstract art to give us an honourable place beside the oriental schools for which, in figure design as well, water colour has been the prevailing convention.

Mr John Rothenstein has done his summarising with a sense of order and proportion and a proper respect for the masters, but he would be well advised to turn from books of a general, derivative kind to some more limited and intimate study. Mr Underwood's book on the painters reveals, in its bibliographies, a strangely imperfect knowledge of prime sources, or confusion of them with popular *réchauffés*. His order is also confused; he treats Wilkie and Haydon as Victorians, along with Etty and Mulready, after he has dealt with the Pre-Raphaelites and Whistler, and his facts call for revision.

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Only four of the nine he mentions were original members of the New English Art Club, and he steers a very dubious course among the living. It is to his credit, on the other hand, that he has attempted a general account of English sculpture. There have been scholars at work on parts of the field, Mrs Esdaile on the post-mediæval times, Misses Lethaby, Prior, and Gardiner on the Gothic, and it is in her mediæval sculpture, rather than in what survives of painting outside of books that England has a proud past. The present here also tries Mr Underwood's discrimination too hard.

If deliberate omissions and passages consisting of little more than a list of names are signs of strain in Mr Baker's effort to include all the centuries within the boards of a single volume, there is another feature in these books which tempts to speculation about the form future histories will take. Redgrave's book was unillustrated; these are illustrated more or less happily and copiously. The best rule for such books is to reproduce (avoiding the travesties of colour-printing) the pictures definitely discussed. The extended history of the future will probably take the shape of a general introduction, followed by fascicles dealing with individual artists, each with its photographic reproductions, followed by references to biographical and critical literature, and a catalogue of works and their owners past and present.

The two remaining books, Mr Wilenski's and Mr Fry's, aim rather at re-valuing than at recording, though the former gives also a skeleton history and some unfamiliar figures. Re-valuation is inevitable; artists shine and fade and shine in accordance with the taste of the day and the accidents of exhibition, but the process is dogged by the fallacy of averaging the fine with the faulty productions of genius. The greatest men, Michael Angelo, Leonardo, Raphael, Rembrandt, have had their vulgar side; the richer the nature the more subject to deviation, but the weeds are no argument against the flower. Mr Wilenski's estimates, less attractive in expression, are on the whole the better balanced. There are foibles to be reckoned with. He occupies himself a good deal with the non-artistic character of artists, and his eye for character is acute, not only in the house but in the backyard: he has a prejudice, indeed, against

street-front and reception-room, such as Reynolds, not to say Rubens, maintained. He is also known as something of a bull in the china shop, bent on smashing inflated reputations. He has shelves vulnerable to his attack in the mediæval period, where much is broken or cracked already, where anything surviving of the first order, like the 'Chichester Roundel,' is uncommon, and the well-preserved 'Wilton Diptych,' if by no means a mere museum-fetish, is rather, in the Prime Minister's phrase, 'a holy treasure,' and historical document than a masterpiece. Much also in this and the succeeding pre-Hogarthian period is, or may be, by the foreign-born. But Mr Wilenski is not so severe a customs-house officer across the Channel; the Clouets, the Italians at Fontainebleau, the Spaniard Picasso slip into the French school.

He is also categoric in excess. He not only 'chips at' legend; he tends to cut and carve by theory. Romance is his bugbear, and he believes in something called a 'cubist-classical renaissance,' one of whose effects is that Constable 'has nothing to offer to the student of to-day.' So, too, he drives Hogarth's condemnatory phrase, 'still-life painting,' too hard, and is brought up against Chardin. He is obliged to argue that Chardin was not really interested in anything but 'architecture,' in a mythical sense attributed to Cézanne and of all people to Renoir, but denied to Turner. The English love of landscape is solemnly traced to 'claustrophobia.' When those categoric blinkers are off, Mr Wilenski is capable of generous praise, and his eagerness to champion a creative present against a dead and docketed past does credit to his heart, if not always to his judgment. Mr Underwood and Mr Burra are very questionable intruders.

Mr Fry's criticism is so lively and agreeable to read, so infectious when he admires and plausible when he dislikes, that some effort is required to recognise its limits and perversities. He sets out with a plea for freedom from 'patriotic' bias, but an anti-patriotic bias is the more distorting. It is allowable to dub the English a 'minor school' in the sense that it can boast no supreme masters, such as Italy, the Netherlands, and Spain produced. But the same is true of France, for all the greater amplitude of her unbroken and magnificent record. The English primacy in eighteenth-century portraiture

and nineteenth-century landscape remains. Nor is the French record all 'heroic'; the Victorian decline into popular, 'anecdotic' painters had its parallel under Louis Philippe, with Delaroche and many another. French judgment, too, of our school has little authority, because little knowledge, and is echoed in our censor's estimate of that accomplished but shallow painter, Bonington.

Mr Fry's negative indictment against some of our major artists has little, after all, that is new. It has been generally allowed that Hogarth often overstrained and overcrowded his drama in the pursuit of a moral, but the choice and invention of pictorial moment and staging are a positive part of his genius. It is equally special pleading to deny him a sense of 'plasticity.' He not only had a natural instinct for the all-roundedness of bodies, but it was one of the preoccupations of his very original brain, analysed in a treatise which few have read, but among them Mr Wilenski. In the case of Reynolds, Mr Fry has come round to the accepted view that between the strength of initial structure and the pleasures of colour and surface quality in his work there is frequently an emptiness in the middle part of drawing. Lack of facility did tell in the painting of near three thousand portraits, but the power was there when there was time for application, and to judge him by a stodgy example set against a first-rate Rembrandt (Plate IX) is as unfair as it would be to set a masterpiece like the 'Nelly O'Brien' against any of a hundred failures by the great Dutchman.

In Mr Fry's pages that word 'plasticity' recurs, with the iteration of Mr Wilenski's 'architecture.' Painting is a graphic, not a plastic or architectural or musical art, though it takes toll of their virtues for its own purposes. It is not the single aim of painting to demonstrate the solidity of bodies. But 'plastic' in these pages becomes mystic and arbitrary in its application; it is equated with 'spiritual,' not with 'corporeal.' Crome's solid 'Quarries' are not solid enough, the naturally not so solid but adorable 'Moonlight on the Yare' is too flat, and the really 'cubist' draughtsman, the Cotman of the 'Domfront' drawing, is disdained because he also employed a semi-Oriental convention. The second danger against which Mr Fry warns his readers is 'snobbism, willingness to accept the dogmas of the *élite*.' Yet it was he who

broadcast to anxious listeners-in the news that if they wished to admire Turner they must make haste; the licence, apparently, was to be presently withdrawn. Turner's vulgar demon was certainly an active spirit, for if he was one of the greatest of land-and-sea painters he could be one of the worst; but even the success of the late exhibition in illustrating his fallibility should not, any more than a jealousy for Claude, have so upset a critic's sense of magnitudes.

Two more blanks are to be registered before we come to the elect. Blake and the Pre-Raphaelites both strained Redgrave's sympathy, and they meet with still less from Mr Fry. Mr Wilenski is here the unpedantic critic. He admits the visionary among his kinds, and recognises Blake, in that kind, for the great artist he was. But, following Blake's own exaggeration, he supposes that he really shut his eyes to the visible world, except so far as he relied for his scaffolding on prints and other previous art. What is for Mr Wilenski a virtue is a vice for Mr Fry, who has narrowed the kinds down to the play of the eye with what the visible world at the moment offers. Both minimise the amount that came from stored-up observation, on which a world was constructed of figures that fly or float, defying gravity, and are mixed with flame or stone. The illustrations in both books are not very well chosen. For Blake's best one must go not so much to detached pictures as to pages in the 'Jerusalem' and other books.

On the Pre-Raphaelites Mr Fry casts a very absent-minded glance. He treats them as revivalists of mediæval *bric-à-brac*, out of touch with life, and no explorers of vision. This is in obvious contradiction with the subjects of 'The Last of England,' 'Work,' 'The Hireling Shepherd,' 'The Blind Girl,' 'Autumn Leaves' and other examples at Burlington House, and in those pictures the blue shadow and other features of impressionist research are forestalled. Nor is it true that the brotherhood was escaping from Frith; he followed in their train. That the observation was piecemeal, and over-prettified in Frith, is the just criticism. Rossetti's design, influenced by contemporary German work, and applied to the illustration of poetry, is a different story, in which the others had a passing share.

Of two leading English painters Mr Fry wholeheartedly approves. One is Gainsborough. 'He was an admirer,' says Allan Cunningham, 'of elegant penmanship, and looked at a well-written letter with something of the same pleasure as at a fine landscape.' His own inspired fluency of handling has behind it a grasp of form which Mr Fry does well to stress. Yet how easy it would have been for him, as devil's advocate, to detect examples of flimsiness, of ladies about whom it is doubtful which, if any, leg they are standing on; the lop-sidedness, also, that sometimes takes the place of happy, instinctive spacing. One of the charming early groups of husband and wife requires another to face and balance it, and in the architecture painted over landscape in the luminous 'Captain Wade' scale is disturbed. Thought, or second thought, troubled the great improviser.

The second of the painters for whom Mr Fry permits us to remain enthusiastic is Constable. But he is not altogether successful in giving the grounds for admiration. Redgrave is more to the purpose here. He starts with the question, What is a Constable, what is the originality of view, the new *patent*, in Constable's own word, that he took out in landscape? He replies, to begin with, that Constable painted habitually 'under the sun,' with the sun, that is, not to one side or in front of the painter within the canvas, but above, and analyses all in effect that followed, down to the famous 'snow,' the glittering points which time has subdued. Add the cloudy, windy skies, and the main conditions are set down. He lays less stress upon a fundamental, which Mr Fry ignores. That fundamental is 'chiaroscuro,' on which Constable himself insists. It is brought out, and even exaggerated, in Lucas's mezzotints, which render this essence of the black-and-white relation. Mr Fry, on the contrary, makes colour the main characteristic. He praises, justly, the subtlety of the 'Malvern Hall,' a very unusual Constable in its comparative flatness, and he might have added the also unusual and beautiful 'Weymouth Bay' to the superb 'Leaping Horse' and 'Waterloo Bridge,' Constable's 'harlequin.' But to treat Constable as the authority for the French impressionist development of colour-reactions at the expense of depth and contrast in tone is to mistake his attitude.

One of the traps for criticism is the attempt to lay down what is 'national' in art—for example, a linear tendency in English painting. Such speculation is a convenient peg for an article, but has the defect of not fitting enough of the facts. In what sense is Gainsborough or Constable 'English'? They painted English people and English landscape; there is nothing in the method of either that might not as well be applied to French persons or scenes. 'Nationality,' like 'personality,' is a limit on an artist, the mortal part of him: the immortal part is universal. Crome, the English provincial, has more of that substantial quality than Corot, and the matchless seas of Turner might have been a Frenchman's, who 'had the mind.' But the critics who will have it that one or another English line is a siding equally condemn a master who is free from parochial marks. The leading case is that of Alfred Stevens, outstanding among European artists of the nineteenth century for reach and range, however sadly restricted in quantity. For Mr Fry he does not exist. 'If we were suddenly asked to mention a great English sculptor there is no name of sufficient resonance to rise instantly to our minds.' For the Editor of the 'Burlington Magazine' he is 'almost pathological in his denationalisation.' For Mr Wilenski he is a 'pasticheur' who has 'no plastic invention, no sense of form, no feeling for rhythm, movement, or grace.' Unfortunately the collocation of the unfinished 'Mrs Mitchell and Child' with Reynolds's lovely 'Duchess of Devonshire and Child' (on Plate 59*b*) has the opposite effect from what was intended; the prize for 'architectural' design goes to Stevens.

The groups upon the Wellington Monument have a high place in the history of plastic invention, and the pencil portrait of a lady, lent to the recent exhibition, reaches an everlasting of drawing in the company of Raphael and Ingres; to say nothing of 'Mrs Collmann' and 'Morris Moore.' To talk of 'pastiche' in the presence of this originality in the valid sense of that abused word is to be so theoretically blind as to have the effect of impudence. If Stevens was a *pasticheur*, what of Wren, whom Mr Fry, rightly to my thinking, reckons the greatest of English artists?

D. S. MACCOLL.

Art. 7.—TITHE RENT-CHARGE.

FINDING their incomes falling and their expenditure high and constant during the recent depression, a small minority of landowners, like some of their ancestors in the depressions of previous centuries, have sought economy by attacking tithe. The vehemence with which the spokesmen of the tithe-agitators have expressed their ideas has attracted the support of many fair-minded persons, who have examined only the surface of the case. A similar explanation probably accounts for some of the surprising resolutions, which have been passed by associations of agriculturists. As these bodies find time to study the facts, their support for this noisy minority of their members may be expected to decline.

The questions raised against tithe to-day are of the same specious kind as in the past. Why should tithe, in its modern form of a rent-charge, be paid by landowners to sleeping-partners, who contribute nothing to the land? Why should the rent-charge remain high and stationary, when prices are low and falling? Why should the rent-charge bear no obvious relation to the fertility of the land, and be so unevenly distributed? To the inexperienced landowner, especially if he be an impoverished owner-occupier, great injustice appears to be suggested by these questions; and in a few districts the ever-present agitator has had no difficulty in fanning discontent into revolt. Satisfactory answers to the questions are to be found in many books,* but it may be convenient to repeat them here. It is not true that a tithe-owner, because he may have no personal dealings with the land from which he draws tithe rent-charge, contributes nothing to that land. In fact, he leaves his capital invested in the land, and asks only for a fair rate of interest. Here are two proofs. Since its inception in 1836, tithe rent-charge has been assessed for rates separately from the land concerned, the rent-charge being thereby recognised as a separate form of property. When land is bought or sold, its capital value is reduced in proportion to the tithe rent-charge

* Recent summaries of the tithe case are given in Chapters VII and VIII of Mr Venn's 'Foundations of Agricultural Economics': Cambridge, 1933, and in a pamphlet published by Queen Anne's Bounty in April, 1934, 'Agricultural Depression and Anti-Tithe Agitation.'

assessed upon that land. Most of the owner-occupiers, who figure largely in the present agitation, have purchased their farms since the war. Unless any of them deliberately ignored the ordinary business procedure of land transactions, each of them will have had the purchase price of his farm reduced by a capital sum proportional to the tithe rent-charge assessed upon the farm. Thereby the vendor transferred to the purchaser, in addition to the land, a capital sum, the interest on which would provide for the future tithe rent-charge. Having obtained that capital allowance, it is not honest for owner-occupiers now to withhold the annual interest in the form of rent-charge. Associations of agriculturists and Members of Parliament, who are constantly receiving appeals for help from tithe agitators, would do well to investigate this point in every case, before they commit themselves in defence of the tithe agitation. It is not uncommon to find an owner-occupier using an imaginary tithe grievance to cover his real tragedy. In too many instances a tenant-farmer, anxious not to leave his home and gambling unduly on a continuance of high prices, bought his farm for more than he could afford, and possibly for more than the land was worth. Thus in the good times he became heavily in debt, and now in the depression the debts are crushing him. In all such cases the error arose from the farmer's misjudgment, and any excess payment by him went to the vendor of the land. To attempt now to pass on to the tithe-owner any share of the owner-occupier's mistake is a gross injustice, for the tithe-owner was in no way consulted regarding the charge in land-ownership.

Landowners, who inherited their land, accepted the liabilities as well as the amenities of their properties. When an estate changes hands, in order to keep estate duty at a minimum, full allowance is claimed for tithe rent-charge, as for every other outgoing. The new owner subsequently will have no good reason for withholding any part of the tithe rent-charge previously declared. If the times are difficult for landowners, they are equally hard for tithe-owners, many of whom have very small incomes. It is a fair analogy to compare tithe-owners to the holders of debentures, and landowners and tenant-farmers to the preference and ordinary shareholders of a company. Neither tithe-owners nor debenture-holders

have any control over the business from which their income is derived; they gain nothing from good times, but properly regard their income as a fixed first-charge, which must be met under all circumstances before the shareholders receive anything. So much for the sleeping-partner argument!

Next, as to the claim that tithe rent-charge is unfairly high. In 1836, when tithe was commuted, the object sought was to provide the tithe-owner with a rent-charge paid in money, which was equal in value to his tithe-holding in 1836, and which would continue to have the same purchasing power. Hence the value of 100*l.* rent-charge was expressed also in the corresponding weights of the three British cereals, and subsequent annual valuations of the rent-charge have been based on the current value of the same weights of corn. In order to reduce fluctuations in value, instead of the corn prices of one year, the average prices of the seven preceding years were taken as the basis.

During the 82 years 1837 to 1918, the value of 100*l.* rent-charge averaged 91*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* Between 1890 and 1915 the value never reached 80*l.*, and between 1897 and 1909 it was below 70*l.* During these years of low rent-charge, no Parliamentary action was considered necessary to help tithe-owners. If they complained of the loss of nearly one-third of their incomes, they were told that they had no real grievance, because, as the cost of living would have fallen with the price of corn, the purchasing power of the rent-charge was unchanged. This reasonable argument was dropped in 1918, when the rent-charge, for the first time in 35 years, rose above par, although only by 9*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.*, or 10 per cent. By that date agriculturists had reaped the chief benefits of the high war-prices of cereals, and the owners and owner-occupiers of land appeared to resent the prospect of the tithe-owner recovering his belated share. And so the Tithe Act of 1918 fixed the value of 100*l.* rent-charge at 109*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* for the seven years 1919 to 1925, and a subsequent Order made the same valuation apply in 1926. By this legislation the individual tithe-payer of 100*l.* (par value) rent-charge saved during the eight years 1919 to 1926 365*l.* 11*s.* 3½*d.*, and tithe-payers collectively saved nearly 12½*l.* millions. The following are the exact figures:—

If the Act of 1836 had been operative, the values of the rent-charge would have been as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
1919	123	19	2½
1920	140	12	7½
1921	162	8	4½
1922	172	2	5½
1923	171	16	6
1924	165	12	2
1925	155	16	11
1926	146	14	4½
<hr/>			
Total for 8 years	1239	2	7½
Amount actually payable 109 <i>l.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i>			
× 8	873	11	4
<hr/>			
Amount saved by tithe-payer . . .	365	11	3½

On the basis of 3,400,000*l.* unextinguished tithe rent-charge, the total savings by tithe-payers collectively during the 8 years were approximately $365.55*l.* \times \frac{3,400,000}{100}$
 = 12.43*l.* millions.

The Act of 1918 secured for tithe-owners some compensation for the above loss, without hardship to tithe-payers, by providing that from 1927 onwards the rent-charge should be based upon corn prices for the preceding 15 years. This arrangement enabled the 8 years, 1916 to 1923, of abnormally high prices always to be modified by 7 years of lower prices. By 1925, however, agriculturists had begun to forget the prosperity of the war period, and the prospect of increased rent-charge payments produced another outcry from tithe-payers. Again Parliament gave way at the expense of tithe-owners. The proposal of the 15 years average was dropped, and the Tithe Act, 1925, fixed the value of 100*l.* rent-charge in and after 1927 at 105*l.*, plus a further 4*l.* 10*s.* in the case of ecclesiastical tithe as a sinking fund to effect redemption within 85 years. By this legislation the individual tithe-payer of 100*l.* (par value) rent-charge is saving over the 8 years, 1927 to 1934, 14*l.* 0*s.* 5½*d.*, and tithe-payers collectively will save nearly half a million pounds. The following are the exact figures :—

If the Act of 1836 had been operative the values of the rent-charge would have been as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
1927	133	8	10½
1928	116	13	2½
1929	111	3	7½
1930	109	1	6½
1931	105	14	10
1932	99	0	1½
1933	92	8	2½
1934	86	10	0½
Total for 8 years	854	0	5½
Amount actually payable 105l. × 8	840	0	0
Saving	14	0	5½

On the basis of 3,400,000l. unextinguished tithe rent-charge, the total savings by tithe-payers collectively during the 8 years will amount approximately to 0·47l. million. Thus, of the total 2093l. 3s. ¾d. per 100l. (par value), which would have been payable for the 16 years years 1919 to 1934 if the Act of 1836 had applied, tithe-payers have been saved by the Acts of 1918 and 1925 379l. 11s. 8¾d., or 18 per cent.

The answer to the third question, as to the cause of the uneven distribution of tithe rent-charge, is buried in the history of many centuries. Some lands may never have been tithed. Other lands have had their tithes compounded. In some cases an owner may have sold as tithe-free parts of his property, and have retained upon the remainder responsibility for all the tithe. It would be as hopeless to seek a full explanation of the present uneven distribution of tithe rent-charge, as to search for the causes of the varying circumstances affecting the lives of the present generation of tithe-owners and tithe-payers. In both cases the variations are facts, which have to be accepted. There is ample evidence to show that the present generation of tithe-owners and tithe-payers came into their present positions with full knowledge of the circumstances, and by methods which were fair.

Even in this aspect of the tithe-case, however, modern legislation has helped the tithe-payer, by restricting the rent-charge to a proportion of the rent. From the days

of the Old Testament up to the commutation in 1836, tithe had always been a share of the annual produce of the land, without regard for values or costs of production. It was a form of property distinct from the land itself, and independent of the profits or losses of tithe-payers. Since 1836 many tithe-payers, incorrectly if not unnaturally, have tended to compare their payments, not with the annual output of their land, but with their profits; and they have drawn correspondingly wrong conclusions. In order, however, to modify extreme cases Parliament, under the Tithe Act, 1891, cancelled rent-charge in excess of two-thirds of the rental value of the land. Under the Tithe Bill, 1934, recently introduced into Parliament but subsequently withdrawn, it was proposed that the tithe-owner should still further assist the tithe-payer through the reduction of the above fraction to two-fifths. If this change were made, the loss per annum expected by Queen Anne's Bounty on 2,290,000*l.* of rent-charge is upwards of 109,000*l.*, or 4·8 per cent. As the Bounty holds two-thirds of the rent-charge, the total prospective transfer from tithe-owner to tithe-payer under the new Bill would have approximated to 170,000*l.* per annum.

Summarising the recent history of the tithe case, it is astonishing that, in face of the facts, an agitation has been able to develop, and to cause a strong government to drop a useful Bill. Tithe-payers, whether they acquired their land by inheritance or purchase, received a full capital allowance for their rent-charge liabilities when they paid estate duty or purchase money. Therefore they cannot fairly object to pay a rent-charge representing interest on the capital allowance. The claim that modern legislation has acted unfairly against tithe-payers is the exact opposite of the truth. During 34 years, 1883 to 1917, when prices were low, Parliament arranged no compensation for the depressed rent-charge. Directly prices rose in 1918, the rent-charge was prevented by Parliament from rising in proportion. As a result, the individual tithe-payer has saved 18 per cent. of the rent-charge which, but for the Tithe Acts of 1918 and 1925, would have been payable under the Act of 1836; and tithe-payers collectively have saved nearly 13 million pounds. Lastly, in order to assist tithe-payers owning poor land, Parliament in 1891 cancelled rent-charge in

excess of two-thirds of the rental value, and in 1934 had proposed to change the fraction to two-fifths, thereby presenting tithe-payers with a further 170,000% per annum at the tithe-owners' expense.

It is to be noted that the agitators against tithe rent-charge are to-day, and have always been, a small minority of tithe-payers. The reports of Queen Anne's Bounty show that of the rent-charge payable in 1932, over 87 per cent. had been collected by November 1933, and that nearly three-quarters of the amount due in April 1933 had been collected within eight months. The experience of the owners of lay tithe is similar. The large majority of tithe-payers are meeting their liabilities in the orderly manner in which the English public normally pay their debts. Under these circumstances, the Government, if conditions were normal, might reasonably have declined to take any further action, leaving the suppression of the tithe agitation to the increasing volume of public opinion, which is realising the weakness of the agitators' case. Under present conditions, however, when the whole future of English agriculture is at stake in connection with the complex marketing schemes sponsored by the Ministry of Agriculture and the National Farmers' Union, the Government is bound to remove, if it can, the discord which the tithe dispute has introduced. Every agriculturist to-day is required to exert his full weight in the reform programme of agriculture, and no energy can be spared for quarrels on secondary questions. It is doubtless for that reason that the Government introduced their Tithe Bill, and it is only for that reason that many tithe-owners have refrained from opposing the substantial loss which the Bill occasioned for them. Yet many tithe-payers, who benefited, remained in active opposition, and continued to demand an inquiry.

The Government having yielded to this demand, it behoves every one concerned to assist in ensuring that the inquiry shall be the preface of a final settlement. For this two preliminaries are very desirable. First, the Royal Commission, which is to be appointed, should limit its retrospect, taking as its starting point the Tithe Act of 1836. Second, those who are to give evidence before the Commission, or to take part in the related discussions, may be expected to acquaint themselves

beforehand with the facts already available. If tithe-payers, from whom the demand for inquiry has chiefly come, will digest even the figures contained in this article, one large section of the agitators' case will not require further consideration.

Any further legislation palatable to tithe-payers must be of a kind which brings to them financial relief, and most forms of such relief would inevitably apply to tithe-payers generally. All tithe-payers, doubtless, would welcome relief, but for some it is unnecessary. Again, any relief applicable to all tithe-payers, which would be financially possible, would be of small use in the most necessitous cases. At present, tithe-owners are able to concentrate on the poorest tithe-payers such abatements as can be afforded. If fresh legislation is to make abatements general, there will be proportionately less for the cases really in need of help. Clause 2 of the 1934 Bill, however, which made tithe rent-charge a personal debt, appears to have caused considerable anxiety for a number of people. All that the clause effected was to enable a tithe-owner to collect money due to him, in a way which did not involve personal violence for individuals, or a burlesque of English administration. Whatever legal arguments may be involved, the practical wisdom of the proposal is obvious. When tithe was changed in 1836 from payments in produce to payments in money, tithe-owners dispensed with the equipment and other facilities necessary for utilising the former. To compel them, when the rent-charge is not forthcoming, to seize produce in lieu of money, is to revive momentarily pre-commutation payments without pre-commutation facilities. This method of administration is clearly wrong, and has probably only survived because happily it has been seldom used. On this point, therefore, it is to be hoped that the Commission will be able to convince legal opinion. If, however, recovery by distraint is to be retained, the inefficiency frequently displayed by County Court administration should be remedied.

It may be permissible here to suggest one supplementary form of public assistance. The payers of the ecclesiastical rent-charge vested in Queen Anne's Bounty, on behalf of benefices or ecclesiastical corporations, are obliged to pay in addition 4*l.* 10*s.* per 100*l.* (par value) as

a sinking fund to effect redemption. This applies to approximately two-thirds, or 2,000,000*l.*, of the rent-charge. The payers of the other one-third, or approximately 1,000,000*l.*, of rent-charge belonging to various other persons and bodies, are not obliged to make any similar redemption arrangements. It appears very desirable that compulsory redemption should apply to all tithe rent-charge. The annual cost of a 4½ per cent. sinking fund for all rent-charge would approximate to 153,000*l.* It would not be an excessive burden on the Exchequer if some fraction, such as one-half, of this sum were provided from public funds, leaving the other half, or other proportion, to be provided by tithe-payers at the rate of about 2*l.* 5*s.* per 100*l.* (par value) for 85 years. Such an arrangement would provide a substantial concession to payers of ecclesiastical rent-charge, and would compensate the payers of other rent-charge for the introduction of compulsory redemption. A possible hardship to tithe-owners would also be removed, if the contribution from public funds were for such period as may be found necessary to produce the balance of capital required. When the redemption of ecclesiastical rent-charge was arranged in 1925, the sinking fund was fixed at 4½ per cent. on the assumption that interest rates until 1941 would be 4½ per cent., and would thereafter fall by stages to 3¼ per cent. It is already evident that interest rates are liable, as at present, to fall short of the estimates. If, therefore, Parliament assumes responsibility for a share of the sinking fund, the annual charge for this could continue for the exact period, whether more or less than 85 years, as may prove necessary to provide the known capital sum. A further advantage would result, as tithe-payers would be more likely to redeem by single payments their shares of the sinking fund, after these shares had been reduced.

One of the tasks specifically referred to the Commission is to reconsider the annual value to be attached to the rent-charge. Having regard to the agitators' complaint that the current fixed charge is unfair to tithe-payers, tithe-owners are unlikely to object to a return to the 1836 method, of a value fluctuating with the price of corn. But, tithe-owners will necessarily request that this change, if made, shall be complete; that is, that it shall operate from the date of its suspension in 1919. Back on the

scales will come the 13,000,000*l.* detailed in this article, and there may be added a reasonable request for consideration in respect of voluntary remissions, made on the assumption that the rent-charge had been fixed. There will be a further tithe-owners' point concerning rates paid upon unrecovered tithe. Tithe-payers, therefore, before they support before the Commission the agitators' condemnation of the friendly Acts of 1918, 1925, and 1934, will do well to consider fully the effect upon their pockets. The public hitherto has heard chiefly the grievances, real and imaginary, of tithe-payers. The Commission will have before it also the solid, if less advertised, losses of tithe-owners. Parliament cannot be asked to protect tithe-payers when corn prices rise, and to leave tithe-owners at the mercy of nature and international trade when prices fall.

In conclusion, it may be suggested that a scheme, whereby tithe-owners would receive from the Government a smaller but certain income, while the Government would collect for a period of years a self-liquidating rent-charge, might, as regards procedure, provide an acceptable solution.

RONALD HART-SYNNOT.

Art. 8.—SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

HE who would write a general eulogy of Samuel Taylor Coleridge must be prepared for disenchantment. He will discover a character which proves weaker the more it is examined and a vast disproportion between promise and achievement. If, however, he suspends his purpose of praising Coleridge and seeks industriously to measure the quality of his philosophic thought, the height of his poetic imagination, the number and variety of his works, and the extent of his influence, a substantial and admirable figure will arise, worthy enough of praise. It is a figure unmistakable and unfading.

Young De Quincey, armed with a letter of introduction to Coleridge, whom he had never seen, fails to find him at Nether Stowey, and, proceeding to the neighbouring town of Bridgwater, is driven by rain to seek shelter under a gateway there. Beside him he perceives a man standing in a reverie, and recognises Coleridge by 'the peculiar appearance of haze or dreaminess' mixed with the light of his eyes. There was geniality, too, in that countenance, and an invitation to friendly discourse. The 'Coleridge look' was so marked that it has descended through four generations, as I can myself testify, for in the tragic winter of 1914-15 my wife and I, being invited by the late Ernest Hartley Coleridge to visit him at Aylesbury, found a large crowd of soldiers and their friends on the station platform there, but had no doubt which of all those hundreds of faces belonged to our host, whom we had never met before. And when we were in his drawing-room admiring a fine portrait of Samuel Taylor Coleridge which hung on the wall, a little girl came in and stood by chance below the picture. We drew our breath, for the resemblance was astonishing. 'I know what you are thinking,' said Mr Coleridge with a smile: 'it's her likeness to her great, great grandfather.' There must have been much elemental matter in a man so easily recognisable from the expression of his face in repose and whose traits were so safely transmitted to his posterity. This unfading quality, this congruity and continuity of selfhood, needs to be made evident, for appearances point rather to inconsistency and change.

There is congruity enough fulfilment and complete-

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE

ness enough in the artistic perfection of what Coleridge did supremely well, yet popular opinion robs him of his due praise by regretfully referring to what he might have accomplished if only—— Fortunately, children in school are allowed to enjoy 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner' without captious comment; it is accepted as a perfect poem. But appreciation is qualified when they read 'Christabel' and have to hear the disillusioning remark that 'the author could never make himself finish it.' When they read 'Kubla Khan,' with wonder and joy of course, their delight is tainted by the information that it was 'an opium dream.' Thus enthusiasm is damped and carping criticism spoils enjoyment of two most glorious poems. Furthermore, unless their teachers happen to be unusually well acquainted with biography, little is done to open to pupils the meaning and consequently the beauty of Coleridge's great conversation poems, such as 'This Lime-tree Bower my Prison,' 'Fears in Solitude,' 'The Nightingale,' 'Frost at Midnight,' 'Dejection,' and 'To William Wordsworth,' and still less to teach them history through his political pieces, such as his 'Sonnets on Eminent Characters,' 'Reflections on having left a Place of Retirement,' 'The Dungeon,' and 'France, an Ode.' Missing these, they get no knowledge of his humaneness, his public spirit, and think of him perhaps as one of his own 'footless birds of paradise,' dreaming of unrealities and impossibilities. In Caroline Fox's 'Journals and Letters' there is a phrase of her brother Barclay's which describes almost all great poetry—'a plant that seeks the sun yet grasps the soil.' Though the three poems of Coleridge with which everybody is familiar are notable exceptions to the second part of the phrase, since they certainly do not grasp the soil but hang in mid-air, nearly all his other poetry is remarkably close to reality and sane experience. As a record of intellectual history it has, in this respect, a value that is often lacking in the poetry of Shelley and Keats and even Byron.

Strangely enough, however, there is little philosophising in Coleridge's poetry, little argument, little effort to persuade. The poet in him was very distinct from the metaphysician and the propagandist who were so prominent when he talked or wrote prose. If one knew nothing about him except what could be gained from his poetry

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and a few notes necessary to the understanding of them, one would say : ' Here is a very great poet who was also a very great man, humane, benevolent, religious, of simple tastes and steady, well-ordered conduct, probably not extremely learned though widely read—a man who led a happy and healthy life, though in certain passages he gives expression, no doubt exaggerated, to fears and self-reproach.' If the reader shares the common idea that Coleridge was a futile, unproductive man of genius, without balance, inconstant, weak, and unhappy, let him weigh the adjectives in the preceding sentence in the light of a full knowledge of what Coleridge actually wrote and ask himself whether they are not after all justly applied, except, of course, that his learning was enormous, his conduct often subject to a weak and diseased will, and his misery sometimes ' foot-thick.' These are large exceptions, to be sure, but there are left the generous desire to do good, the religious humility, the childlike simplicity, and a godlike power to create. In lines that express both the wealth of his endowment and a sense of having squandered much of it, he cries :

' Imagination ; honourable aims ;
Free commune with the choir that cannot die ;
Science and song ; delight in little things,
The buoyant child surviving in the man ;
Fields, forests, ancient mountains, ocean, sky,
With all their voices—O dare I accuse
My earthly lot as guilty of my spleen,
Or call my destiny niggard ! O no ! no !
It is her largeness and her overflow,
Which being incomplete disquieteth me so ! '

Among the published poems of Coleridge there are more fragmentary pieces than can be found in the ' complete works ' of perhaps any other author. This gives an impression of weakness, of inability to carry out projects and sustain emotional flights. It is only fair to observe that many of these unfinished poems were not published by Coleridge himself but by editors who found them in his note-books and letters. Very little of Milton's incomplete verse exists—only a few rejected lines in the Trinity College manuscript, and the fragment ' On the Passion,' to which he appended the remark : ' This subject the Author finding to be above the years he had

when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied with what was begun, left it unfinished'; yet it is inconceivable that he could have achieved his perfect artistic mastery without having made many a beginning which he abandoned and composed many hundred lines which he rejected. We should be grateful to Dykes Campbell and E. H. Coleridge for including the fragments in their editions; for many of them are of priceless worth, 'gems of purest ray' which otherwise would lie hidden in the 'dark unfathomed caves' of oblivion. They are detachable from such contexts as they have, and lose little by the process. I am far from believing that poetic inspiration comes only in flashes and that no passage of real poetry can be longer than fifty or a hundred lines or whatever limit has been set by various persons who have dogmatised on this subject. Merely to *plan* 'Paradise Lost' was an act of poetic inspiration, and there is not a line of it that does not proclaim the hand of genius. So, too, with 'The Divine Comedy' and in a less degree 'The Prelude.' *Per contra* many a poem is the weaker for its author's endeavour to make it systematically complete, for example, 'The Faery Queen.' Two of Coleridge's most elaborate attempts, 'The Destiny of Nations' and 'Religious Musings,' are failures if completeness be the measure of success, but at least a hundred lines of the former are rich in beauty and significance, and one single line,

'The alien shine of unconcerning stars,'

is sublime and awe-compelling, while in the latter there are 'heights most strange, whence Fancy falls, fluttering her idle wing.' Yes, fancy falls, broken-winged and baffled, but from heights seldom attained except by this great poet.

As a reader familiarises himself with the poems—all of them, not merely the famous ones—his opinion of Coleridge's genius rises; he feels grateful for so much gold and cares less and less that it has not all been separated from its original quartz and melted down and fashioned into vessels for ornament and use. Of his contemporaries none except Wordsworth and Keats have given us more of this precious metal; yet men talk of his futility and deplore his failure to round out his under-

takings. 'Edwin Drood' remains in one's memory less perishable for being unfinished. 'Weir of Hermiston' turns its readers into amateur novelists, each trying to imagine how it ought to be continued. Joseph Conrad would have been well advised to end 'Lord Jim' when his unheroic yet very human hero obeys the impulse of self-preservation and deserts his ship. Shakespeare 'made a play' but spoiled a great tragedy by adding the last two acts to 'Measure for Measure.'

The special qualities of Coleridge's poetry are, it seems to me, a power of creating a sense of reality so vivid that it might be called hallucination, and a power of communicating moral truth. These are the qualities which give Shakespeare his pre-eminence, and none of our other poets possesses so large a share of them as Coleridge. The first is exhibited not only in the three great mystery poems, but in the conversation poems too, where we hear his voice and almost his heart-beats, and see things he sees, and are fain to believe he is talking to us. It gives amazing life-likeness to many passages in the fragmentary pieces, so that here and there suddenly a picture startles us into wondering where we are, as when, in an absolutely detached sentence at the end of 'The Destiny of Nations,' we read :

' a landscape rose
More wild and waste and desolate than where
The white bear, drifting on a field of ice,
Howls to her sundered cubs with piteous rage
And savage agony.'

He communicates moral truth not so much in his passages of deliberate reflection as by a general diffusing of his own spirit of loving-kindness, humility, and reverence. In his poems there is none of Byron's cynical hardness, none of Byron's cruel egotism. Though they have not Shelley's childlike and innocent assurance, they possess a compensating maturity of moral judgment. They reveal the man. With the striking and, of course, very important exception of the three mystery poems, they nearly all are his direct utterance, as letters or entries in a diary might be. He is here in his own person and most attractive, very candid, simple, and pure. The simplicity is what may well astonish us in one with his reputation for endless metaphysical discourse. Poetry was his holy of holies,

the citadel of his ambition, not a place for relaxation and secondary thoughts. It was his high calling, and his other occupations—preaching, lecturing, conversing, journalism, politics, theology—were in comparison only means of earning money or exercising his wits, or, more frequently, sops to his conscience when it reproached him for inactivity. For poetry he reserved his best moods, his least perturbed moments, his most vivid sensations, his clearest thoughts.

A man who had conceived and completed so magnificent a work as 'The Ancient Mariner' at the age of twenty-five must have lain prostrate and awe-struck with the knowledge that upon him too had fallen the inspiration of 'that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases.' And if he then determined to add 'industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs,' it was because he, like Milton, 'refused not to sustain this expectation' of being an instrument of heavenly music. His friend Wordsworth, by whose side he felt himself 'a little man,' had hitherto composed nothing so unquestionably great. The stubborn, simple, superstitious, child-like soul of man is its hero, the wide ocean is its scene, its colours are drawn from rainbows, stars, and gleaming water. In the same year he composed 'Kubla Khan,' that 'perfect chrysolite'—perfect even though not 'one entire,' for blinding beauty makes the eye indifferent to all but what it sees for the moment. In the same year again he composed the First Part of 'Christabel,' introduction to another magic world. These three pledges of immortality bound Coleridge to poetry as the lady of Heaven's choice for him. Henceforth his other undertakings were ancillary, mere handmaidens to serve the queen. They were not allowed to talk in her presence. Though her utterances were few, they were uncontaminated by the various jargons of her court. She must speak the royal idiom, and only when she pleased.

The tongue of man wags eternally. Talk aims not at symmetry, proportion, and a definite ending. Philosophic speculation always begins anew from every supposed conclusion. Theology, though claiming now and then to

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have enclosed some area of established truth, always breaks out through an unstopped loop-hole and starts off building new fences. Science glories in the prospect of indefinite advance and expects to make excursions and even to run up blind alleys. Art alone, and poetic art scarcely less than sculpture, aims at unity, simplicity, and a definite finish. 'In der Beschränktheit zeigt sich der Meister.' The poet looks to the end, and for the sake of the end declines invitations to wander from his course. It is only in his poetry that Coleridge was an artist. Only in his poetry did he even try to regulate the clamorous mob of observations, memories, concepts, and purposes that surged in the antechambers of his brain. By its very nature poetry required him to bar the door against all unfit, discordant applicants. Hence the surprisingly small amount of metaphysical speculation in his verse, the broad, practical, and by no means controversial teaching in 'Religious Musings,' the brevity of the moral epilogue to 'The Ancient Mariner':

'He prayeth best who loveth best
All things both great and small.'

Hence, too, the epigrammatic sufficiency of his comments on public men and public affairs, such as this very early one, composed before he was twenty years old:

'Though few like Fox can speak, like Pitt can think,
Yet all like Fox can game, like Pitt can drink.'

To say that he always or even generally achieved the completeness which poetic art demands would be untrue. He failed far more often than he succeeded. But he succeeded far more often than is usually supposed. Poems are not to be valued for their length, and many short poems of Coleridge are fully rounded and self-contained. Though we must regret the unfinished projects, the stark scaffoldings of which no use was made, the foundations on which nothing was built, we may rejoice that there are few unnecessary prolongations and forced endings in his poetical works. He restrained his natural expansiveness, his propensity to go on luxuriating from one subject to another without apparent connection. Awed by the clear-eyed goddess, he put aside his garment and laid his hand upon his mouth.

He had good practice in restraint when translating

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Schiller's 'Piccolomini' and 'Wallenstein.' A faithful translator must be servant and master at the same time; he must follow the text without deviation, while creating for the ideas a new expression. Coleridge succeeded admirably in both capacities. His version is sufficiently literal, yet it reads like an original composition, and a very good one too. Sir Walter Scott said Coleridge 'made Schiller's "Wallenstein" far finer than he found it,' and though the translation had a poor sale and the task of completing it irked Coleridge extremely and was one of his excuses for not finishing 'Christabel,' there had probably been no previous rendering of a German play better or as good. He had the candour to admit in a note that he had not succeeded with Thekla's song, and it is true, for his

'I've lived and loved, and that was to-day—
Make ready my grave-clothes to-morrow'

is far inferior to Schiller's immortal lines :

'Ich habe genossen das irdische Glück,
Ich habe gelebt und geliebet.'

Mr E. V. Lucas, annotating a letter from Charles Lamb, dated Oct. 11, 1802, says that Lamb had versified Thekla's song from a prose translation supplied by Coleridge. Between them they might have done better. By way of compensation Coleridge has enriched one of Schiller's finest passages, and, indeed, one of the most beautiful in all German literature, by inserting in Max Piccolomini's speech about the meaning of folklore the glorious lines, not traceable in the original :

'The intelligible forms of ancient poets,
The fair humanities of old religion,
The Power, the Beauty, and the Majesty,
That had her haunts in dale, or piny mountain,
Or forest by slow stream, or pebbly spring,
Or chasms and watery depths ; all these have vanished.'

His own original dramas, 'Remorse' (entitled in its earlier form 'Osorio') and 'Zapolya,' are very remarkable compositions. 'Remorse,' though it was performed for twenty nights at Drury Lane Theatre, is from the standpoint of reasonableness and natural language one of the most impossible plays in the world. It employs every

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rageous licence of the most degenerate late Elizabethans, a diction that disregards propriety of time, a prosody exceedingly lax. He said himself: 'I tried to imitate his [Shakespeare's] manner in the "Remorse," and when I had done I found I had been tracking Beaumont and Fletcher and Massinger instead.' The plot is more than improbable and is obscurely unfolded. If the epithet were not a smooth-rubbed coin, one might describe 'Remorse' as an extreme example of the 'romantic.' However, its gloom is relieved by several purple patches and many a startlingly vivid line. 'Zapolya' is better constructed, more believable, less crowded with horrors, and yields more delight. Neither of these plays has the solid merit of Wordsworth's 'The Borderers,' which is coeval with 'Osorio,' and to which Coleridge gave unstinted and generous praise, esteeming it above his own tragedy. And, by the way, in going through his works, whether prose or verse, formal publications or letters, from early years or late, one finds many tributes to Wordsworth, many acknowledgments of indebtedness to him. This is noble and lovable and was fully deserved.

To sum up our survey of Coleridge's poetry: it is more copious and varied than is generally supposed; it is full of rich surprises; it is remarkably free from the faults and excesses which one might expect, not abstruse or prolix, but conforming rather, for the most part, to Milton's prescription—'simple, sensuous, and passionate.' Notwithstanding his devious chases after various distractions—psychology, metaphysics, politics, theology—and his many lapses into mere vagueness, lamentation, and dreams, the pursuit of serious and perfect poetic achievement remained his one great purpose. 'I never,' he said, 'have been able to tame down my mind to think poetry a sport or an occupation for idle hours.'

It is interesting to imagine what impression Coleridge's poetry would have made throughout the past century if nothing else had been transmitted from him—none of his other writings and no other knowledge about his life and character. He would have been a singularly clear, monumental figure, which is precisely the contrary of what he in fact is. Fancy the surprise of a person who knew only this figure, on discovering the rest of Coleridge, the vicissitudes of his intellectual and even his physical

life, his projects, friendships, family troubles, his conversation, his public lectures, his immense importance as a literary critic, his exertions in philosophy, his theological turnings and burnings, his wanderings in search of health, his tragic struggle with the opium habit, his lack of common sense, his abundance of wisdom, his natural joyousness and humour, his pain, remorse, and despair, with only one hope left—the hope of God's pardon and the compassion of his fellow men!

It was inevitable that he should engage in literary criticism. Creative composition is a most exhausting occupation, but talk is easy, and so, to a man of his powers, is discursive thought. We find him, even in his Cambridge days, holding forth to groups of listeners on the merits of poetry. By some prophetic instinct it was Wordsworth's poetry. He had not yet seen the author; the poems were 'An Evening Walk' and 'Descriptive Sketches,' in which only a most penetrating eye could discern the promise of a revolution in poetic method; yet Coleridge proclaimed, he first, their originality and promise. Later, in many a midnight talk and country ramble, he and William and Dorothy hammered out the new theory of poetry which found expression ultimately in the great Preface to 'Lyrical Ballads.' At Racedown, Nether Stowey, and Alfoxden, in Bristol and London, at Grasmere and Keswick, the endless talk continued, and like the Wedding Guest, his listeners could not choose but hear. He had, to use a lively phrase of his own, 'a constitutional communicativeness and utterancy of heart and soul.' Talk was a refuge from the reproving glances of that goddess Poesy, who demanded more homage than he had strength to give. But though it was only secondary as compared with poetry, it was good talk, the best of its kind, not to be matched perhaps by any other man alive. Behind it lay extensive reading in Greek, English, and German philosophy, acquaintance with classical and patristic literature, knowledge of the English poets, biographers, and theologians, and as time went on, of German poets and critics recent and contemporary. With French literature he seems not to have been very familiar; and, like the rest of the world outside of Italy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, he was almost unaware of Dante, whose great name now for all

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shines with supreme splendour in the long interval between Virgil and Shakespeare. Robert Southey, Joseph Cottle, and J. P. Estlin, Charles and Mary Lamb, William and Dorothy Wordsworth, Thomas Poole, Hazlitt, De Quincey, and Crabb Robinson were among the first of his hearers and interlocutors; but he poured forth his discourse upon all and sundry who would listen. Between 1806 and 1808, at the Royal Institution, he reduced some of his vast redundancy into lectures on the Principles of the Fine Arts and on Shakespeare. Other courses of lectures followed at intervals during the next ten years. They were brilliant improvisations, so charmingly inter-fused with his genial personality that his audiences endured patiently many rambling flights. Indeed, they considered themselves fortunate when he remembered his engagements. Of one series Charles Lamb wrote to a distant friend: 'Coleridge has delivered two lectures at the R. I.; two more were attended, but he did not come. It is thought he has gone sick upon them.' This casual behaviour came to be an old story. His audiences were heroic and 'attended' faithfully, but the lecturer often remained away and often spoke on different subjects from those promised. The lectures have been preserved chiefly from shorthand notes taken by Crabb Robinson, John Payne Collier, and others. In spite of all these titles to oblivion, he ranks as one of the most subtle investigators of the poetic art and the most suggestive and illuminating interpreter of Shakespeare. We must not expect to find a single complete treatise in the mass of his prose; but of penetrating remarks there are hundreds. It is our misfortune that he did not take pains to write out his lectures. Of all his prose works, only 'Biographia Literaria' has even the appearance—and it indeed has a false appearance—of being coherent and finished. But preparation of another kind was not wanting, and he said truly: 'I would not lecture on any subject for which I had to *acquire* the main knowledge, even though a month's or three months' previous time were allowed me; on no subject that had not employed my thought for a large portion of my life since earliest manhood, free of all outward and particular purpose.' When, by good luck, he and his audience happened to meet at the advertised time and place, it must have required all the magnetism

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of his inspired countenance and all their patient respect for his reputed wisdom to hold them in their seats, for even if he chanced to speak on the subject announced beforehand, he roamed over the realm of thought in a concatenation of parentheses. 'I envy,' he declared, 'dear Southey's power of saying one thing at a time, in short and close sentences, whereas my thoughts bustle along like a Surinam toad, with little toads sprouting out of back, side, and belly, vegetating while it crawls.'

His prose has been pieced together from shorthand reports, passages written from memory by his hearers, fragments in his own handwriting, contributions to 'The Watchman,' 'The Friend,' various newspapers, letters, and the 'Biographia Literaria.' If the result is exasperating, the fault lies not so much with his editors as with himself. And what a lamentable waste of great thoughts and splendid expressions his neglect entailed! Among those that have survived—and they are many—the following may serve as examples: 'Verse-makers are not poets: the poet is one who carries the simplicity of childhood into the powers of manhood; who, with a soul unsubdued by habit, unshackled by custom, contemplates all things with the freshness and the wonder of a child.' Shakespeare, he says, charms you 'to gaze on the movements of Venus and Adonis as you would on the twinkling dances of two vernal butterflies.'

The most vital parts of 'Biographia Literaria' are the chapters that treat of Wordsworth's poetry and the Preface to 'Lyrical Ballads.' Here we listen to a dialogue between these two great poets, a friendly debate, in which Coleridge is trying to modify the extreme statements of a theory that was almost as much his as it was Wordsworth's. Though publication of the 'Biographia' was delayed till 1817, this subject had been discussed between them for twenty years, and we may picture to ourselves the little 'half kitchen, half parlour' in Dove Cottage, William on one side of the hearth contending stubbornly for some touch of realism both bold and bald, 'dear Col' on the other smilingly insinuating that the world would take it amiss, and Dorothy glowing in the firelight with worship of her brother and all his opinions, yet fascinated by their friend's eloquence. The great Preface and chapters 4, 17, 18, 19, and 20 of 'Biographia Literaria,'

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the one complementing the other, constitute the most satisfactory treatise on the nature of poetry ever written, not excepting Aristotle's, which is more limited in scope.

If the most learned people in Britain and America had combined to lay a wreath on Coleridge's grave one hundred years ago, the motto on the ribbon would probably have been: 'He was a defender of the Christian faith.' Many of these learned people had not read his poetry and would have cared little for his literary criticisms. But a powerful revival of orthodoxy was then occurring in the English-speaking world, and Coleridge's 'Aids to Reflection,' published in 1825, was welcomed as a philosophical support of traditional doctrines, all the more because he had formerly been a Unitarian preacher and a sympathiser with the French Revolution. The volume must have been more bought than read, for there are few antiquarian book-shops that do not contain one or more shop-worn copies to-day. To describe it is not an easy task, because, though by no means void, it is without form, consisting mainly of about seventy-five so-called aphorisms or propositions, with comments on the same. I once heard a friar preaching from an open-air pulpit in Siena. He stood up at intervals to state in formal terms the main points of his sermon, and then, seating himself comfortably and leaning forward, made the applications. So it is in this odd book, close, dogmatic statements alternating with ungirt, far-reaching exposition. The scholastic dissertations of the Middle Ages seem here to be renewed, and it is easy to fancy ourselves peering through the dusk of a mediæval lecture-room on a winter afternoon in Padua or Paris. To religious seekers of our time, concerned less with metaphysical proofs of Christianity than with questions of its origin on the one hand and of its application to conduct on the other, Coleridge's aims and method appear alike outmoded. His opinions carried weight, however, not only because of his extensive acquaintance with the writings of English theologians, but because he had considerable knowledge of Kant and his followers in Germany. One must be prepared to admit the incredible when dealing with Coleridge: perhaps he had read so much; at least he had apprehended, for his genius showed itself in his power of rapid assimilation scarcely less than in his creativeness, and at

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all events he was one of the first to transmit Kant's ideas into English minds. From Kant, apparently, he derived his distrust of the 'understanding' or pure logical faculty and his conviction of the superiority of 'reason' or the moral sense, which distrust and conviction are the underlying elements of 'Aids to Reflection.' His employment of the word 'reason' in a sense directly opposite to its ordinary meaning is a stumbling-block to readers. We usually think of reason as the logical faculty, and what he termed 'reason' would better have been called 'illumination.' No doubt his great name gave support to orthodoxy throughout the rest of the nineteenth century, and his fertile mind supplied arguments which were eagerly welcomed and appropriated. Whether they are valid in the face of more recent Biblical criticism is less certain. And did he not, by exalting 'reason,' under which term he included feeling and instinct as well as moral sense more immediately derived from experience—did he not by exalting this group of impulses above the logical faculty, which distinguishes men from beasts and wise men from foolish and is our chief instrument of knowledge, retard the advance of light over darkness? As Alois Brandl suggested in his 'Life' of Coleridge, 'on this principle of reason he maintained the truth of miracle and prophecy because he believed in Christianity, not the reverse.' This is probable enough; much more probable than the opinion of John Sterling, who told Caroline Fox that Coleridge 'professed doctrines which he had ceased to believe, in order to avoid the trouble of controversy.'

For documentary knowledge of Coleridge's personal history and character there are three principal sources: J. Dykes Campbell's excellent biography, 1893, the two volumes of Letters edited by his grandson, Ernest Hartley Coleridge, in 1895, and the two additional volumes of Letters, edited by Professor Earl Leslie Griggs in 1933. Previous biographers and editors, Cottle, Allsop, Green, Sara Coleridge, Henry Nelson Coleridge, Brandl, were able to produce only imperfect and confused records. By this time there is no excuse for failing to recognise his genius, his charm, his humour, and his goodness. His genius, of course, is universally acknowledged and increasingly appreciated; his charm is reflected in the

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devotion of his friends; his humour, with all that the word implies—gaiety, perception, freedom from vanity—brightens many a page of the letters; and finally his long warfare with an inherent weakness and an acquired enemy was not waged in vain, for he obeyed the command, 'Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.' The letters would provide a hermit with companionship for many weeks, relieving his loneliness, curing his fanaticism, and restoring him to sympathy with humankind. Though many of them are sad and some are pitiful, laughter prevails over lamentation; and as a storehouse of ideas they are unsurpassed even by Bacon's 'Essays,' Ben Jonson's 'Discoveries,' or Eckermann's 'Conversations with Goethe.'

Imagination smiles at the thought of Samuel Taylor Coleridge migrating to the shores of the Susquehanna. Bread-fruit and oranges do not grow on the banks of that river, as the pantisocrats appeared to believe. Cut off from libraries, book-shops, and publishers, he would have had to exchange the pen for a hoe. Fancy him felling a tree or ploughing amid stumps and rocks! How he would have puzzled, yet probably delighted, the earnest English Quakers, the steady-going German farmers, and the keen Scotch frontiersmen of Pennsylvania! He would have been more completely out of place in the wilderness than any other of the hopeful communistic band. If, indeed, he had fled from idyllic toil to some nearby college town, Philadelphia or Carlisle or Princeton, he would have been the most shining light in America. He would be mentioned with Thomas Paine, John Witherspoon, Joseph Priestley, and Thomas Cooper as a precious gift from Britain to the intellectual development of the new republic. But he was at home nowhere, not even in England. From Brandl's 'Life' of Coleridge, which is a jealous *apologia* for Germany and greatly exaggerates the influence upon him of Kant and Schlegel, one might suppose him a mislaid German. He seems to have thought of himself at times as a neo-Platonic Alexandrian born out of due time. Charles Lamb, in calling him 'an archangel a little damaged,' gave him an origin and habitat not of this world. These speculations about him, this impression of his uniqueness, this sense of something in him incongruous with his setting in time and place, do not

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arise from the perusal of his poetry but from his letters and the records of his conversation and from descriptions by persons who saw and heard him. A typical instance is the effect produced on a certain Captain Ingram, as reported by Caroline Fox. This not particularly intellectual gentleman frequently met Coleridge at the Gillmans', 'and though as a rule not appreciating such things, spoke with rapture of the evenings with him, when he would walk up and down in the glories of a swelling monologue, the whole room hushed to deepest silence, that not one note might be lost as they listened to the strains of the inspired poet.' The names and honour of Dr and Mrs James Gillman should never be allowed to fade from grateful memory. They took the broken, discouraged victim of weakness and disease into their home and kept him there for the last eighteen years of his life—with what sacrifice of their own tranquillity may be imagined.

There were at that time in London two eminent chairs of philosophy, or rather of the *omne scibile*. The professor in Chelsea described his rival of Highgate in several deeply etched pen-pictures, mordant and painful. In this centenary of Coleridge's death, it is no less just than decorous to cover the cruelest and repeat the most appreciative of Carlyle's lines: 'Coleridge sat on the brow of Highgate Hill in those years, looking down on London and its smoke-tumult, like a sage escaped from the inanity of life's battle, attracting towards him the thoughts of innumerable brave souls engaged there.' And again he mentions his 'strange, brown, timid, yet earnest-looking eyes, a high tapering brow, and a great bush of grey hair,' and reports, 'He is a kind, good soul, full of religion and affection, and poetry, and animal magnetism. His cardinal sin is that he wants *will*. He has no resolution. He shrinks from pain or labour in any of its shapes.' All the more wonder, then, it seems to me, that in a life not long nor healthy nor spent in steady industry, this man should have made himself justly famous as a disseminator of philosophic ideas, a literary critic eminent for originality and suggestiveness, and a great English poet. Of his bare human worth apart from the glamour of his learning and genius, it is enough or almost enough to say that William Wordsworth was

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his friend through many trials and Dorothy Wordsworth loved him tenderly ; that practical Thomas Poole trusted him and Charles Lamb was proud of having known him since boyhood ; that the Gillmans stood by him to the end ; and that his children revered his memory.

There are several scenes connected with Coleridge's early life which I prefer even to Carlyle's famous description, for they testify to his charm by showing the effect he produced upon those who knew him best. At Grasmere, one day in 1800, Dorothy Wordsworth wrote in her journal : ' At 11 o'clock Coleridge came, when I was walking in the still clear moonshine in the garden. He came over Helvellyn. Wm. was gone to bed, and John also, worn out with his ride round Coniston. We sate and chatted till half-past three . . . Coleridge reading a part of "Christabel." ' On Feb. 6, 1802, she wrote : ' Two very affecting letters from Coleridge ; . . . I was stopped in my writing and made ill by the letters.' A few days later she and William walked on a cold, wet evening to Rydal for letters. They met the postman, who gave them two : ' We broke the seal of Coleridge's letter, and I had light enough just to see that he was not ill. I put it in my pocket. At the top of the White Moss I took it to my bosom—a safer place for it.' Against the fact that he was often a sore trial to all his friends, and especially to these two who loved him most, may fairly be set their joy in his companionship and their profit from his fertile mind. They knew, and the world now knows, that he accused himself too severely when, with a heart forlorn, he voiced his

' Sense of past Youth, and Manhood come in vain,
And Genius given, and Knowledge won in vain.'

It is unjust and cruel to measure men and women by what they might have done. If they strove to do more, let us recognise the effort and not talk about failure. If they did much, let us be thankful therefor.

When Coleridge died, Charles Lamb, so soon to follow, expressed his own and also the general feeling of loss : ' His great and dear spirit haunts me. Never saw I his likeness, nor probably the world can see again ' ; and he went about repeating mournfully, ' Coleridge is dead.'

GEORGE MCLEAN HARPER.

Art. 9.—EDWARD IRVING.

JUST a hundred years ago, in 1834, a great Scotsman passed away. He died in his own country, in the city in which he had laboured as a young 'helper' to the great Dr Chalmers, and he was buried in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral, a resting place offered by a friend of former days. He died in the prime of life ; but that life had, latterly at least, been one of tragedy. He had attempted to perform what no one human being could perform : he was ready to sacrifice himself, his pleasures, his domestic happiness, his very body, which gradually sank under the ravages of consumption. Against this he struggled with all the force of one who believed that faith in God could vanquish physical weakness were it only strong enough, and that death, even physical death, could be swallowed up in victory. Few can read without emotion the account given in Mrs Oliphant's 'Life' of Irving's pathetic attempts to voyage up to Scotland in cold wintry weather, stopping on his rides to visit the faithful and do the Lord's bidding on the way, and struggling amidst fever and pain to reach the end of his journey where he was commissioned to go 'by power,' the power of a prophet to do a great work in his native land. Under this command, with the mental strain it involved, the warnings of his doctors were of no avail.

Edward Irving's life to many of us is bound up with that of an even greater Scot, Thomas Carlyle, and with his wife, Jane Welsh. Irving was born at Annan in 1792, as the son of a tanner, and Carlyle three years later and not far off, as the son of a mason, so that both were of lowland stock. They first met when Carlyle was at Annan Academy and when Irving, loaded with academic distinction from Edinburgh University, came to see the schoolmaster who had also been his ; but the two cemented their friendship when jointly engaged in teaching at Kirkcaldy. A closer bond was perhaps found in Irving's friendship with Mrs Carlyle, who, as a little girl of nine, became his pupil at Haddington when he was only eighteen years of age and teaching at the Burgh school of that town.

Carlyle's impressions of Edward Irving as a young man make us see him as he was before the anxieties and troubles

of later life laid hold of him. One can picture the two, first as lads set under Adam Hope, the seceder school-master, to whom both owed so much, then as young men ostensibly studying for the ministry. 'Edward's religion in after years,' Carlyle says, 'though it ran always in the blood and life of him, was never shrieking or narrow; but even in his last times with their miserable troubles and confusions, he spoke always with a sonorous deep tone like the voice of a man, frank and sincere, addressing men.' Irving in those days was scrupulously dressed, 'black coat, ditto tight pantaloons in the fashion of the day,' clerical black his prevailing hue, 'and looked very neat, self-possessed and enviable; a flourishing slip of a youth; with coal-black hair, swarthy clear complexion; very straight on his feet; and, except for the glaring squint alone, decidedly handsome.' This last is evidenced by the portraits now in the National Portrait Gallery. The betrumpering of Irving had at first awakened no love but some envy in the younger man's mind; he was successful and comparatively well-to-do, and 'there was a kind of joyous swagger traceable in his manners in this prosperous young time.'

Two years at Haddington were followed by school-mastering at Kirkcaldy, where Irving managed a school of boys and girls, with the help of a considerable admixture of corporal punishment, though his severity was combined with a quite modern interest in natural phenomena. During this period of his life he was a 'partial student' at the Divinity Hall in Edinburgh, i.e. was gradually preparing for the ministry. Some of the numerous children of Dr Martin, the parish minister of Kirkcaldy, were his pupils, and to one he became engaged.

Edward Irving's 'fine manly sociality' now completely laid hold of Thomas Carlyle, as did the generosity of his invitation to share with him all he had to offer—there was neither 'cloud nor grudge' between them. Irving's books were Carlyle's, his Gibbon and his Hume and the rest. They walked fourteen miles to hear Dr Chalmers preach at Dunfermline, and not only did they walk together, but they also rowed on the estuary of the Forth. Carlyle describes Irving's preaching as a 'probationer,' which he says showed 'free flowing eloquences which had all a manly and original turn.' He read his discourses ap-

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parently, 'but not in a servile manner; and of attitude, gesture and elocution there was no neglect. His voice was very fine: melodious depth, strength, clearness its chief characteristics. . . . He affected the Miltonic or Old English Puritan style, and strove visibly to imitate it more and more till almost the end of his career, when indeed it had become his own.' What it lacked, in Carlyle's view, though possibly this was a later reflection, was definite head and backbone. Even then he thought there was something in it of 'preconceived intention'—'in fact of real affectation as there could not well help being.' Naturally all this was surprising to the 'hide-bound Presbyterian public,' as it was also to prove to the downright, straightforward Dr Chalmers, whose eloquence was of a different sort. But in all the mutual intercourse of the two young men Irving was the captain, taking the responsibility on his own shoulders—a leader of men ready to act as champion in all adventures.

After having, in a somewhat irregular way, managed to complete his six years of study in Divinity, Irving went through his 'trials' in 1815, and was licensed to preach, though still a layman. He continued, as a probationer, to teach in his school till in 1818 he went to Edinburgh, where he attended further University classes. He then became depressed about his prospects and future, and thought of becoming a missionary. However, in 1819, Chalmers, now minister of St John's Church, Glasgow, proposed to him to become his assistant, an invitation which he accepted with many misgivings, for the honour done him was, he thought, far beyond his deserts.

In Glasgow Edward Irving was a little more carefully and clerically dressed, 'outwardly more precise,' but, like Carlyle, he had genuine sympathy with the recalcitrant weavers and indignation with those who were dead to their distresses. His sermons were an hour or more long and 'flowed along, not as a swift rolling river, but as a broad, deep and bending or meandering one.' 'Noteworthy they were; nobody could mistake them for the discourses of other than an uncommon man.' Indeed, when Carlyle had taken refuge in Annandale in his father's house, despite his having told his friend frankly that he did not now think as he of the Christian religion, Irving's visits were 'like sunrising to night.' He

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describes him as the flower and crowning jewel in the hearts of all as he talked to them of men and books, and the interesting matters that he came across in Glasgow. His voice truly came as blessedness and hope to Carlyle's gloomy prognostications. He besought him, difficult and distraught as at this time his friend was, to come and live with him. And he forecast the future glory of both: 'You will see how one day we two will shake hands across the brook, you as first in Literature, I as first in Divinity—and people will say, "Both these fellows are from Annandale. Where is Annandale?"' And this was said in a tone of self-mockery saving it from barren vanity. 'Only an enemy could have called him vain.' . . . 'His pleasure in being loved by others was very great . . . if this was vanity, then he might have been called a little vain; if not, not.' . . . 'No man that I have known had a sunnier type of character, or so little of hatred towards any man or thing. . . . Noble Irving, he was the faithful elder brother of my life in those years; generous, wise, beneficent all his dealings and discussings with me were . . . he was helpful to me when I most needed help.' A fine testimony to what one man can be for another.

It was indeed a melancholy town on which this young man had descended, suffering as it was from the worst results of the war and the Industrial Revolution. Want of work and want of food brought about revolutionary unrest. Chalmers was tackling the evil in a statesman-like manner characterised by the economic theories which he had evolved, and in this his own parish he brought about great reforms. Irving was no economist: he ended in being a reactionary Tory who hated Brougham, 'the Arch Fiend of Radicalism,' and all the other so-called Liberal statesmen. But now he was overwhelmed with the *human* suffering which he met, and somehow, without any theories, he was able to get the goodwill of those who were ready to fight for their rights, by approaching them with the tenderness of a man who felt deeply for them. Chalmers obtained complete rule of his once scornful parish, swept away poor rates and government agencies and himself carried on by voluntary charity the relief of the poor; and the remarkable part about all this was that it was done in days when pious men thought religion sufficed to cure all evils without caring about the material

side of life or the physical conditions under which men lived. Irving was content to get the affection of his people, and with his strange dignity and beautiful voice he used, as he entered a dwelling, to utter the words 'Peace be to this house,' while he blessed the little children, hands on their heads, in a manner surprising and rather upsetting to a normal Scotsman unused to such forms and ceremonies.

A little legacy came opportunely to the young minister, and every morning as long as the sovereigns lasted one was put in his pocket as he went forth on his visits, unbeknown surely to his great chief whose methods were of a modern and organised type. In these ways Irving took on him the garb of a priest rather than a Presbyterian pastor. Chalmers was naturally impatient of what the matter-of-fact, sensible man thought was evidence of credulity if not vanity, even though he could not help bearing his 'helper' personal affection; consequently the organising autocrat and the visionary assistant did not have much in common. And the unconventional helper shocked the respectable ecclesiastics while on the way to an important Presbytery meeting in the country by carrying on his back the pack of a weary pedlar!

It was with a feeling of relief to both that in 1821 Irving got a 'call' to the Caledonian Church in Hatton Garden, London, then in great straits. The selected pastor ought, according to its trust deed, to have been able to preach in Gaelic, but that condition was waived in young Irving's favour, for he had gained a certain reputation. He started off on the work of the next twelve years full of confidence and hope, glad to get free of dry theology and the '*soundness* of dull men' into what he called 'the ocean of truth.' His farewell sermon to the congregation in Glasgow spoke of his imperfections 'which had not been hid from their eyes,' and of his leader, he expressed himself with an emotion and warmth that overwhelmed and somewhat annoyed that sober Scotsman. The sermon was indeed 'cut' by Mrs. Chalmers before it was printed, to the indignation of the writer.

Irving's departure from Scotland seemed to make a temporary break in the close friendship with Carlyle; correspondence for a time ceased, and Carlyle was inclined

to think that his friend might have been wiser to have remained in his own country in spite of its dislike of unconventional ways. Irving once said to his later friend, Henry Drummond, 'I should have kept Thomas Carlyle closer to me; his counsel, blame or praise, was always faithful.' Not that he ever forgot Carlyle, for it was through his influence that Charles Buller was sent to the latter's care in Edinburgh at a time when he was in financial straits; and for this and many other kindnesses Carlyle was deeply grateful.

The Scottish preacher now entered on a career of brilliant success.* By 1822 he was at the top of fortune's wheel 'striking the stars with his sublime head,' though Carlyle added, 'Well, if he do not break his shins among the rough places of the ground'; for he could not help suspecting that an element of self-consciousness betrayed itself in his friend, and he believed him to be 'nothing like as happy as in old days; inwardly confused, dissatisfied and striving, if not to "talk big" which he hardly ever did, to *think* big upon all this.' Crowds came round him, 'tiresome, ignorant, weak or even silly and absurd,' according to Carlyle, though there were substantial Scottish merchants among them. Later on, when Carlyle was lodging with Irving, he attended his little church, crowded as it was with people, and only entered by ticket, 'Lady Jersey sitting on the pulpit steps.' By this time there was undoubtedly in his sermons a lack of spontaneity and simplicity which gave the impression that the preacher was not happy but anxious, struggling and questioning. Irving had hoped that 'the Christian Religion was to be a truth again, and not a paltry form, and to rule the world—he, unworthy he, even he the chosen instrument.' Such hopes were soon to be blasted. His fault, if it really was self-love or 'love that others should love him,' was, however, combined with a beautiful piety and charity which gave him endless patience with the mean people who crowded round him. He always tried to believe that the mean were not so mean, and never did he complain of his uncomfortable, harried life, being always ready to help the most hopeless and ungrateful sinner.

* In his recent Biography of Dorothy Wordsworth, Mr de Selincourt quotes from a manuscript letter an admirable summing up of Irving's strength and weakness as a preacher.

The success had come to him not only in the form of crowded congregations, but also in the distinction of many of his hearers. Canning accompanied Sir James Mackintosh to the church, and spoke later in the House of Commons of his visit to the 'little Caledonian chapel' with appreciation. The applications for seats were enormous, and crowds actually assaulted the doors. In 1823 Irving published his 'Orations'—his first book—in which he boldly claims to speak not just for the Church, but for the greater tribunal of the world. His view was that the ordinary preacher made no sufficient appeal to that larger audience, and he felt that the power to do this had been granted to him, and that the great world had recognised his worth. 'If you propose to appeal to gipsies and bargemen,' he asked, 'why not to imaginative men, political, legal and scientific, who bear the world in hand?' The 'Argument for Judgment to Come,' published in the same volume, was no doubt suggested by the two 'Visions of Judgment' of Southey and Byron, but it foreshadowed the prophetic teachings which are associated with Irving's name. The consequence of all this was a general onslaught by all sorts of papers, daily and quarterly, which simply augmented the interest in the writer; and his remarkable personality added to the impression he made. Edition after edition of his books was demanded. Now it was that the young minister made an expedition to Scotland to claim the wife who, though she appreciated perhaps overmuch her husband's prosperity, and the friends it brought him, stood by him faithfully in his later troubles. They settled in Pentonville, where open house was kept for all visitors, poor and rich alike.

Carlyle showed no enthusiasm for Miss Martin, and it is fairly clear that the long engagement which lasted from Kirkcaldy days might have been broken with any encouragement on the side of the Martin family. Without going into the whole discussion as to the relations between Edward Irving and Jane Welsh, in which Froude takes the romantic view of thwarted love and Charles Eliot Norton (supported by Leslie Stephen) the more prosaic one of a passing love of an undeveloped girl, it seems fairly clear how matters stood. Jane Welsh was no undeveloped girl at twenty; she read much and all

kinds of literature. She was also good-looking, clever and well off, surrounded by admirers, but the magnificent young man standing over six feet high, and with good prospects before him, could not fail to make a special impression upon her susceptible mind; the letters from Irving to his one-time pupil give pathetic evidence of an adoration held painfully in restraint. 'Heaven grant me grace to restrain myself,' he says; and Jane, whatever she felt, was evidently equally loyal, knowing her admirer's engagement. Irving persuaded himself of the interest he felt in his young friend being intellectual and religious, and concerned himself deeply over the books she read—Rousseau, Goethe and Byron, lent her by Carlyle whom Irving himself had introduced to the ardent girl. The letters to 'my dear, dear friend' sound sententious now with their warnings against 'the intoxication of high talents,' but they were written from his heart, and he longed for her presence and yet was faithful to his vows. It was through the constant parcels of books that Carlyle developed his friendship with Miss Welsh, and, as Irving found, she gradually passed 'out of the region of my sympathies and,' as he put it, 'the sympathies of honest, home-bred men.'

Thus Carlyle was able to write to his future wife early in 1823: 'What a wicked creature you are to make me laugh at poor Irving. Do I not know him for one of the best men living, and that he loves us both as if he were our brother. Let us like him the better the more freely we laugh.' Jane Welsh, in 1824, after Irving's marriage, says, 'What an idiot I was in thinking that man so estimable.' So then passed the sort of story so common between young men and maidens, but the true friendship between Carlyle and Irving lasted through all the developments that seemed to affect the lady's critical sense of humour.

Irving, a young man still, inexperienced in worldly matters, would have been more than human if the *réclame* which he received did not affect him at all. He had been unnoticed by the multitude and overshadowed by a man to whom Scotland looked as one of its greatest sons, and the power which he felt within him never had the opportunity of showing what it was till suddenly he found himself in a great new world, the world of which

he had read and with which he had never hoped to come into personal contact, and yet discovered at his feet. Evangelicalism had become moribund, and he was, he felt, the vessel chosen to bring it once more to life. There was another remarkable man who was wealthy, a Member of Parliament, and in every way distinguished, and who, in 1826, began to hold conferences at his country home, Albury Park, in Surrey, in order to make a study of the prophets. Henry Drummond had been carrying on at Geneva the work of Robert Haldane in combating Socinianism, and he was now to become a prominent member and leader of the Body which usually bears Irving's name, but which, though he was in a sense its forerunner, did not really owe its origin to him and is more properly named the Catholic Apostolic Church—a Church that has extended in Germany and Switzerland as well as in Britain, and has always affected a certain symbolism in its services and made a special study of the Apocalypse.

Irving did not now confine himself to preaching or writing books ; he also wrote articles, more especially in an organ called 'The Morning Watch,' which was inaugurated through the Albury Conferences. The little Caledonian chapel was replaced by a large church in Regent Square,* made to accommodate the crowds that failed to obtain admission to the chapel. It was completed in 1827, and Dr Chalmers was called upon to open it. Irving's services were lengthy ; his sermons usually lasted from one to two hours, and Chalmers writes to his wife that 'There is a prodigious want of tact in the length of his prayers—forty minutes.' It was, it appeared, an hour and a half before Chalmers could even commence his part of the service, which ought, of course, to have been the principal one ! No wonder he was annoyed and returned to Scotland alarmed and uneasy at the preaching on prophecies and the extraordinary volubility of his late assistant.

If Irving was elated at the reception given him by the high and mighty, he never forgot the poor and friendless ; he always loved little children, and the death of his firstborn was the greatest grief of his life. He not only received visitors, feeding them if necessary, but visited

* Now a well-known Presbyterian church.

extensively, exhorting the sinners and comforting the sick. His visits to the poor were as one friend to another, and he gave valuable lessons to the benevolent lady visitors of his day as to the spirit in which they should help their necessitous neighbours. His calling he considered was to instruct, and he never accommodated his teaching to the taught, but spoke his mind in season and out of season. When asked to address a missionary meeting, he dealt with the missionary as he saw he should be—and depicted him not at all as the respectable missionary societies conceived of him—and his words came as a shock to that and other meetings of smug, orthodox people. And he had the courage to deal with subjects such as that of the Apocalypse boldly, and in a way which he must have felt was destined to estrange him from his wealthy and influential hearers. It was not long before the results were evident.

According to Carlyle, things got worse by 1827. Irving came to see him in Edinburgh, friendly but with a 'look of trouble, of haste, and confused controversy and anxiety: sadly unlike his old good self.' His religious mannerisms had grown more definite. On leaving he stood up to pray saying, 'I must go, then—and suffer persecution as our fathers have done!' It made him 'drearly sad.' From the year 1828 till his death, Irving was to feel all the bitterness of one who has fallen from a dazzling height to a troublous plane. He had amongst other things undertaken the translation of a Spanish work which impressed him greatly, entitled 'The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty,' professedly written by Ben Ezra, a Hebrew convert to Christianity, but really by a Jesuit priest called Lacunza. This in itself was puzzling to his admirers, who remembered how he had spoken of the 'worshippers of the Beast' and against the champions of Catholic emancipation. But candour was never absent with Irving, and he was always ready to acknowledge what he found to be true and helpful from whatever source it came. In this case he stated that he hoped in some future pilgrimage 'to meet the grey-haired saint in the flesh and receive his blessing.'

The large church in Regent Square was filled, but was never crowded as was the little Caledonian chapel, nor did the same type of people attend it. Irving's sermons

in 1825, collected in a book entitled 'Last Days,' contained statements asserting the sinfulness of Christ's humanity (i.e. that Christ's nature was as ours liable to sin though kept perfect), which caused him to be brought under suspicion by the Church. He had become acquainted with John Campbell, of Row, who was deposed from the Scottish ministry in 1831 for heresies, slightly resembling Irving's doctrines, and the Assembly of the Church of Scotland was in no mood to be trifled with. It was stated that any attempt on the part of Irving to exercise his ministry in Scotland would be met by an inquiry into his writings on the Incarnation. In 1830 the Presbytery of London would have taken steps against Irving, but for his alleging that the trust deeds of the National Scots Church required their minister to be ordained by a Presbytery in Scotland; and as long as the members of his own kirk session upheld him all went fairly well. The time came when they did not do so.

The whole situation was complicated by a young man named Scott, who had been Irving's assistant, and who not only shared in Irving's views on the Incarnation, but insisted that the exceptional gifts of the Spirit manifested in the Apostolic Church were a permanent endowment of the Body of Christ, restrained only by the faithlessness of later Christians. This teaching became disseminated in Scott's old home in the West of Scotland, in Campbell's parish of Row, and other places. Certain women 'spoke with tongues,' and were raised from sickness, and even Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen, appears to have acknowledged the genuineness of their manifestations. Irving accepted them as a baptism of the Holy Spirit and fire, but it is remarkable that he never claimed to possess such gifts in his own person.

From this date (1828) onwards, trials, domestic and public, crowded into Irving's life. He had made a journey to his wife's home at Kirkcaldy, and was going to preach to a crowded audience, when the overcrowded gallery fell down, killing thirty or so and injuring yet more. The mob, with unreasoning bitterness, turned on the preacher instead of those responsible for the building. After doing all he could for the relief of the sufferers, he, overwhelmed with the disaster, broke into the cry, 'God hath put me to shame before all the people.' Even

Chalmers, whose wife was present at the accident, spoke of 'the woeful effect of Irving's visit' almost as if he were in some way to blame. Then, though there were those in high position, like Lady Olivia Sparrow and Lady Powerscourt, who gave of their friendship, there were other troubles of a material sort. Joseph Wolff, that strange converted Jewish traveller and missionary, 'gave him a proof of his esteem' by sending him without any encouragement two Greeks from Cyprus to be maintained and educated. 'I am to them as father and guardian and provider, which I am right happy to be,' replied the good man, who had, however, to find ways and means of carrying out the difficult task as best he could. In 1831, not only were there gifts of tongues in Irving's congregation, but also those of healing, somewhat resembling such as are now exercised by the Christian Scientists. Irving claimed to try the spirits, and when he found them to be true made provision for the exercise of their function in the church. Scenes of excitement followed, and Irving's own trustees, as members of kirk session, now at last appealed to the London Presbytery. Just at this critical time, unfortunately for Irving, one of his 'prophets,' Baxter, repudiated the gifts which he had formerly claimed.

When things looked ominous, Irving used to gather together not only his staunch Scottish remnant, but also his new disciples to meet at half-past six in the morning to pray for the ecclesiastical rulers of the General Assembly who were threatening to brand him as a heretic. It says much for him that his followers were willing to meet at such an hour, but these early services were much to Irving's mind, and were carried on later as a regular institution. Sometimes the morning service was attended by a thousand people, many perhaps coming from curiosity, anxious to hear the speaking of the Spirit, which Irving as pastor or angel of the church explained. Of course the newspapers declared themselves scandalised as well as amused, and all Irving's old friends protested. The London Presbytery believed that it could hardly do otherwise than condemn Irving, for the manifestations then taking place were thoroughly contrary to the character of Presbyterian worship; but the tragedy was that in the early morning after their decision, when Irving went

to his church—the church that he had built and cherished—he found the gates closed upon him—the gates of the church in which he was about to administer the Sacrament to two hundred new members who had applied for admission. The only place of refuge to be found was in a large room in Gray's Inn Road, occupied by Robert Owen, a man to whose political and religious views Irving was absolutely opposed. Almost eight hundred communicants were able to gather there, while multitudes were addressed in the open air, sometimes on Islington Green, sometimes even at Charing Cross. After that the picture gallery of West, the artist, in Newman Street became the church of the derelict congregation. The great church in Gordon Square was built long after Irving's death.

This was not the end of Irving's theological troubles, for now the Annan Presbytery, who had first ordained him, called him to the bar to answer the charge of holding heretical doctrine. Probably their members also disliked the prophetic utterances, but found them not easy biblically to attack, considering the statements made by St Paul in his first letter to the Corinthians. He went to meet the charge in March 1833. The correspondence on this matter has lately come into my hands, and it throws a strange light on the religious life of the day. There is, in May 1832, the demand of the Assembly to the Presbytery for a Report as to the character of the doctrine of Irving, all set forth in legal form, duly signed and attested. This was evidently followed by a personal letter to Irving from the Moderator, perhaps hoping against hope that he would recant. From the delinquent comes a kindly enough reply, dated Sept. 1, 1832, and sending his 'love to the Brethren of the Presbytery,' and promising to reply after deliberation. It was, however, followed by one dated Oct. 13, in a very different spirit. It begins bluntly: 'Men and Brethren,' and proceeds:

'I avow myself to be the Author of three Tracts whose titles are recounted in the General Assembly's injunction to you and in your Letter to me; whereof the first-named was written to set forth the foundation of the Christian Verity, viz. Christ's oneness with us in the flesh; the second, the glorious headstone of the same, viz. our oneness with Christ in the Spirit; the last to denounce the General Assembly of

the Church of Scotland as one of the most wicked of God's enemies upon the face of the earth for having denied and fought against all the foundations of the truth as it is in Jesus and cast out His servants for preaching the same. With that wicked Assembly now three times tried of God and three times found wanting, and with all who adhere to or in any way aid or abet its evil deeds I can maintain no relationship but that of avowed and open Enmity.'

It was impossible that anything could be done with one who wrote thus recalcitrantly, and who concluded his letter, 'Farewell. May the Lord deliver you from that wicked Assembly.'

The hands of the Presbytery being forced, there was now produced a formidable document, 35 pages long, signed by Moderator and clerk, quoting the peccant passages and giving the names of witnesses to be called. The 'libel' was duly delivered by a Westminster lawyer to Irving 'in the study of his dwelling-house in Newman Street,' and all this is duly attested by magistrates—that given him being a 'double' of the original document. One does not wonder in reading these lengthy documents that the expense incurred by the Presbytery amounted to 18*l.* 4*s.* 2½*d.*! Irving did duly appear before the Presbytery, and it could do none else than state that he was 'guilty as libelled.' Then in a building faintly illuminated by one single candle, Irving left for ever the church in which he was baptized.

He was expelled by the Presbytery of Annan—by a 'poor aggregate of Reverend *Sticks* in black gowns,' says Carlyle, condemning a 'Man and a Cause which might have been tried in Patmos under the Presidency of St John without the right truth of it being got at!' 'Remember where you are, sir,' said the Moderator, and the reply came swiftly, 'I have not forgotten where I am: it is the church where I was baptized; where I was consecrated to preach Christ; where the bones of my dear ones lie buried!'

He preached indeed afterwards to multitudes in the open air, but no longer as a minister of the Church of Scotland. To make bad worse Irving had trouble amongst his own people, for now 'prophets' ruled them, and their quondam minister and head had to wait till he was restored to his office. That is to say, he had to be re-

ordained as angel or chief pastor of the flock in Newman Street. The Church, as we know it now, was growing up, but Irving was not to see its fruition. He had to begin again and learn much of matters that puzzled even him at first, but despite his fiery nature he was humble at heart, and always ready 'to confess his error.' He was tired; for his life had been lived with passion, and yet he could not rest. His house was filled with callers; he went on visiting the sick as ever, and he believed that he could preach by the force of the faith that was in him when he was physically utterly unfit to do so.

In spite of all Irving's other aberrations, something, in Carlyle's view, still remained: for in friendship he was noble still, with kindness unabated. When he walked he was, he says, a sight for idle observers, with his 'tall, lean, taciturn, abstruse-looking figure.' The 'tongues,' however, were a terrible revelation to his friend. 'Sorrow and disgust,' they brought to him coming from his 'once high Irving.' Tragically he once heard these tongues in an adjoining room and came away full of distress. When Irving last visited him, Carlyle once for all poured out his solemn advice in the name of old friendship, hoping he might one day remember his words. Irving listened with downcast face for twenty minutes to his arguments (Carlyle's wife sympathetically beside her husband), and then with his voice full of kindness and composed distress began 'Dear Friend,' putting his words together with modesty and a friendly magnanimity that touched his friend so that they remained to him 'dear and memorable and worthy of all honour.' This was the last time the two men ever spoke freely to one another, and it is one of the most poignant farewells recorded in history.

Knowing Irving's herculean strength, it was difficult to the Carlyles to realise the failure in health of their friend, but when they accidentally met, and were friendlier than ever, he had become an old man. His head had grown grey, on the temples almost snow white, his tone low and full of silent sorrow; but he was able once more to call on his two companions of the past and show his usual fine chivalrous demeanour to the Jeannie he always admired and loved. He grew weaker and weaker as his northern journey went on. 'Like an Antique Evangelist

he walks his stony course,' the fixed thought of his heart being at all times, 'Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him.'

It was in the beginning of 1834 that Irving took that fatal journey to Scotland, travelling by stages on horse-back and alone. He thought he had by sheer will-power conquered his weakness, as he wrote to his beloved wife; but at length he had to confess that he was unable to take care of himself. 'Oh, how I have longed for you,' he pathetically exclaims. The voice which carried clearly to thousands had failed him, and his gigantic frame bore the marks of age and weakness. He was only forty-two when he died in the city where he held his first ministerial office. He had done his work such as it presented itself before him; his name has gone down to posterity as the man who created an organised body of Christians—a Church within the Church, as it was called, since its members might also be members of other communities. But besides all that he showed himself to be a man who, like Spinoza, was 'God-intoxicated,' and if like him in spirit, he was also like him in his life—a life of suffering and self-sacrifice. Both died about the same age and of the same disease, worn out with work and struggles. Both were condemned and rejected by those they wished most to influence, but both have the supreme quality of regarding the world and themselves, as Spinoza says, *sub specie æternitatis*, or as Carlyle puts it, 'He waits in the Eternities.'

ELIZABETH S. HALDANE.

Art. 10.—THE PROBLEMS OF MALTA.

ALTHOUGH Malta is a small island, its problems appear to be perennial, and they become acute at distressingly regular intervals. All through the nineteenth century imperial policy oscillated between granting further concessions and withdrawing those already granted. Such uncertainty should not be allowed to continue throughout the twentieth century, and now that the Constitution has again been suspended and the language question is being dealt with, the moment seems opportune for settling these questions once and for all.

The last Constitution was granted in 1921, when there was a positive mania for constitution mongering, and a couple of islands with an unsophisticated population of less than 250,000, and an annual revenue of under 1,000,000L., were saddled with a bicameral legislature of 49 members and a Cabinet of 6 or 7 ministers. The town of Portsmouth with much the same population and a larger revenue is administered by a mayor and corporation. But as the Ministry and Legislature are entrusted only with matters not affecting imperial interests, there exists also a parallel government, subordinate to the Colonial Office, consisting of the Governor in Nominated Council. Including the local Privy Council, there are therefore no less than five governmental bodies; surely no other island in the world can boast so high a proportion of rulers to ruled?

The first six years of responsible government worked better than might have been expected. The elements that now compose the Nationalist Party were in power, and, except for some allegations of jobbery, their record in office was not bad. Their present attitude to the language question was only faintly foreshadowed in an Act to teach English and Italian in the schools *pari passu*. A factious opposition alleged that it would undermine indirectly the position of the English language, but after due consideration by the Imperial Government the Act received the Royal Assent. Unfortunately, just before the General Election of 1927, a perjured affidavit that Sir Gerald Strickland, the leader of the Opposition, was a freemason was widely circulated amongst the strongly Catholic electorate. It did not prevent the Opposition,

the Constitutional Party, from obtaining a majority in the Assembly, but it probably prevented them from obtaining a majority in the Senate, and it not unnaturally provoked Sir Gerald Strickland, who cannot be described as long-suffering. The night when he was entrusted with the task of forming an administration the police searched the houses of certain of the fallen ministers purporting to carry out the order of the new head of the Ministry that documents were not to be removed from the departments. Such an incident seems more appropriate to a third-rate South American republic than to a quasi-dominion of the British Empire, and political standards of the Colony have not yet risen again above the level.

It was obvious that sooner or later difficulties would arise from the different political complexion of the Assembly and the Senate. The conflict arose in connection with the Appropriation Bill. In it Sir Gerald Strickland applied his theory that a democratic government should not keep reserves but spend them, especially in a period of serious unemployment—a financial heresy which the Nationalists had not initiated, to their credit be it said, and which they criticised when in opposition, but which they followed in the financial year 1933–34. The Senate seemed likely to reject the Bill, but Sir Gerald Strickland sought to pass it with the support of either the two representatives of the clergy or of the two representatives of the Trade Unions. His failure to secure the support of the clergy was the original overt cause of his quarrel with the Vatican, while the fight over the Trade Union votes is so Guatemalan in the methods adopted on both sides and so characteristic of Maltese politics as to be worth outlining.

The Nationalist Ministry had secured the Governor's approval for the election of two Senators by a new Trade Union Council which was criticised on the ground that it was 'packed' in favour of the Nationalist Party. Before the election could take place Sir Gerald Strickland was in office and proceeded to rescind his predecessor's action and restored the old Trade Union Council as the constituency for the Senatorial elections. Certain Nationalist Unions having been eliminated and certain Constitutional ones reinstated, two Constitutional Senators were naturally elected. The anti-Strickland Unions then issued a writ

of summons to impugn the legality of the election and the two Constitutional Senators were unseated. In view of this decision as to the constituency entitled to elect the two Senators, it seemed probable that the new Senators would be Nationalists. The Government, therefore, tried to delay the election and, when finally forced to issue a writ, appointed new election officers, who in turn chose a new returning officer. This was alleged to be illegal by the Opposition, but the Government proceeded on its way, with the result that again two Constitutionalists were declared to be elected unopposed. Recourse was again had to the courts, with the result that these two Senators also were unseated, or, more in accordance with fact, declared to have no right to sit. They applied for leave to appeal to the Privy Council, and after it had been granted continued to sit and vote in the Senate until their appeal was heard and dismissed. Not unnaturally, the Opposition protested against their doing so; but the President of the Senate, a Constitutionalist, ruled one motion on the subject out of order on the first occasion; he did the same on a second occasion; on a third occasion he allowed a motion of no confidence in himself on this matter to be discussed and then ruled it out of order before it was put to the vote. This unedifying story has been told in full, partly because it shows what provocation the Nationalists received, and partly because it throws some light on the question whether responsible government can succeed in Malta.

The Appropriation Bill having been twice defeated in the Senate, Lord Strickland (as Sir Gerald had now become) desired to get it passed by a Joint Session of both Houses. In the Constitution as set up by the Letters Patent a two-thirds majority was required. This the Constitutional Party had no chance of obtaining, although it could rely upon a simple majority with the assistance of the two dubiously elected representatives of the Trades Council. The Government thereupon petitioned the Colonial Secretary to amend the Constitution. It argued that it was unusual and improper for the Upper Chamber to have this control over finance. The Opposition replied that the Maltese Constitution had been carefully considered by the Imperial Government and founded on Maltese proposals; therefore this feature could not be regarded as a mere

oversight which would entitle one party in the game to have the accepted rules modified in its favour after play had begun. The Secretary of State accepted the Government's contention and amended the Letters Patent. It is difficult to reconcile this decision with colonial constitutional practice, and the decision was not made any more defensible by the indirect method of approach adopted. The Maltese Legislature was given power by a simple majority at a Joint Session to amend the Constitution so as to deprive the Senate of its financial veto. This amendment to the Constitution was duly carried by 24 votes to 23, the two Trade Union Senators who had been unseated voting amongst the Ayes.

It may well be thought that the procedure adopted by the Strickland Government to amend the Constitution and so be able to pass its legislation was high-handed; but the subsequent action of the Court of Appeal was scarcely less so. The Opposition brought a case to impugn the validity of the amendment of the Constitution and of the Government legislation which had been passed in this way. To avoid the administrative inconvenience that would result from the nullification of so many statutes, the Governor issued an Ordinance purporting to validate them and to prevent their being questioned by any court of law. The Court of Appeal decided, however, that both the legislation and the Ordinance were invalid, that the Trade Union representatives had no right to sit, and that the ruling of the President of the Senate permitting them to do so was *ultra vires*. The importance of this judgment, whether it correctly states the law of Malta or not, is obvious; it does not merely declare a law passed by a legislature to be on the face of it *ultra vires*, but it claims for the courts the right to supervise the proceedings of that legislature and to correct the rulings of the President. Although the effect of this extraordinary judgment was nullified on the following day by further Letters Patent and an Order in Council, it is important to follow in outline this extraordinary record of political jobbery and obstructive litigation in order to form an opinion on responsible government in Malta.

The story of Lord Strickland's dispute with the Catholic Church arose out of his failure to secure the

support of the two representatives of the clergy, and is equally complicated and even more 'Guatemalan in flavour. It can be summarised briefly. On numerous occasions he used words about the Catholic hierarchy which caused grave offence—whether his words were the cause or the effect of the political hostility of the clergy to the Constitutionalists is a matter of opinion. By the time the elections of 1930 were imminent, war between him and the hierarchy was open. Even those who criticise his attitude and the unduly strong defence of his position by the British Foreign Office, will hardly approve the action of the Maltese bishops in issuing a Pastoral immediately before the election declaring it to be a mortal sin for Catholics to vote for him or his supporters and using the confessional to make their condemnation effective. In these circumstances it was obviously impossible for a fair election to be held, and the Colonial Secretary suspended the Constitution.

In June 1930 the position in Malta was that the General Election had been suspended, a Governor's Ordinance had validated the Acts of the last legislature, and the Governor had taken over the administration of the islands. It is impossible to criticise these decisions, but the Nationalist Party felt that they had been deprived of a great electoral victory, and they were not unnaturally resentful. Unfortunately, also, it was for some obscure reason decided that, although the Governor was administering the islands, Lord Strickland's Ministry should be kept in office for consultative purposes but without executive power. This naturally led to friction between the Governor and the Constitutionalists, while increasing the irritation of the Nationalists.

After nine months of this unsatisfactory provisional administration a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Askwith was sent out to Malta. In its report it describes with great clarity the various difficulties which had arisen, but the average reader will feel that the recommendations are hardly the conclusions which would naturally be drawn from the facts as stated. There would appear to have been ample evidence to support a finding that responsible government on the old ambitious model had not worked well and was not likely to do so in Malta. The Commission, however, definitely

refused to arrive at this conclusion, saying, 'we do not feel that there are sufficient grounds to support the opinion that the Maltese people are unable to manage their internal affairs,' and they accordingly recommended the restoration of the Constitution. While drawing attention with obvious disapproval to the claim of the Court of Appeal to supervise the procedure of Parliament, they only make the inadequate recommendation that this alleged power should be limited to a period of twelve months. Generally speaking, the Commission conceived itself to be a conciliation board to make proposals likely to lubricate politics where friction existed and to get the Constitution working smoothly again.

An essential preliminary was to bring about a truce between the Church and the Constitutional Party. The Commission had 'a belief, formed after the most earnest inquiry, that a Pastoral of the Bishops would be quite different in tone from the Pastoral of 1930' if a new election were held. The British Government accepted almost the whole of the recommendations of the Commission, including the opinion that the ecclesiastical quarrel had been patched up. Unfortunately, the Commission's belief turned out to be unsubstantiated optimism, and just before the new elections were held the bishops issued a new Pastoral which was in substance similar to the previous one. The apology tendered by Lord Strickland had been rejected as inadequate. Nothing is definitely known of the confused negotiations of the following days. It was understood in Malta, however, that in the Secretary of State's view the new Pastoral showed that an essential condition of the restoration of the Constitution was lacking, the ecclesiastical dispute had not been settled, and the situation was indistinguishable from that which had led his predecessor to suspend the Constitution. The Nationalist Party feared, therefore, that the Secretary of State would again suspend the Constitution and deprive them of the electoral victory which appeared to be almost within their grasp. It is believed that they accordingly brought pressure to bear on the hierarchy to accept Lord Strickland's apology. Like the sibylline leaves, the apology offered became less and less ample; but after the Bishop of Gozo had been to Rome and back by seaplane to consult the Pope, the

now attenuated apology was deemed on further reflection to be adequate, the Pastoral was withdrawn, and the elections were held. That the Constitutionals should be defeated was inevitable; the surprising thing was that they and the Labour Party retained eleven seats or more than one-third of those in the Legislative Assembly. Sir Ugo Mifsud, therefore, formed a new ministry, unwisely entrusting Dr Enrico Mizzi with the department of Public Instruction, and that government remained in power for seventeen months until its dismissal by the Governor on Nov. 2, 1933.

At this point it is necessary to refer to the language question. In Malta practically 100 per cent. of the population in their homes talk Maltese. This language is of Semitic character and so closely allied to Arabic that a Maltese can understand the language of Alexandria, Tripoli, and Morocco. If Maltese is a dialect of any other language, it is a dialect of Arabic and not of Italian, although it has borrowed in the last few centuries many Italian words expressing ideas not found in the thoughts of a simple, agricultural community. It has not been much developed as a literary language although there are nearly two thousand books written in it. In these circumstances and because the language is not talked outside the narrow confines of the archipelago, it is necessary to provide for the teaching of some other language. Ever since the domination of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies from the end of the eleventh to the sixteenth century, Italian has been the language of culture of the island; it has continued to be the principal language of the law courts and is much used by the Church. Since the beginning of British rule, English has been the official language of administration and a principal language of instruction in the University and schools. It has been increasing in influence because it is for economic reasons the most useful language to know. A large proportion of the Maltese earn their living in the dockyard or by supplying in some way or other the needs of the large British community connected with the Navy, Army, and Air Force, and emigration from Malta has necessarily been directed chiefly to English-speaking countries like Australia, Canada, and the United States.

Until 1923 the parents could choose which language

a child was to learn at school. When the Constitution of 1921 was enacted, language was made a reserved subject, and in the Letters Patent it is provided that 'Nothing shall be done by way either of legislation or of administration which shall diminish or detract from the position of the English language as an official language or tend to reduce its use in education or in the public service.' In 1923, however, the Nationalist Government passed a bill to require children to learn both English and Italian in the State elementary schools from the third standard upwards. As has been said, this bill was reserved, but the Imperial Government decided that it did not constitute an infringement of the Letters Patent and the Royal Assent was given. By the time the Royal Commission was appointed, however, it was becoming clear that instruction in two foreign languages from a very early age was imposing an undue burden on both the pupils and teachers of the elementary schools, for the vast majority of both never heard English or Italian spoken outside school hours. The competing claims of two foreign languages naturally limited so greatly the time that could be devoted to Maltese, the only language the child already knew, that the school was wholly out of touch with the home, and appeared to the child to be devoted to the reading and writing of two mysterious languages that he could not talk. The Commission, therefore, recommended on purely educational grounds that the teaching of Italian in the elementary schools should be discontinued. True to their general attitude of saying smooth words, however, they added to their strong condemnation of the educational effects of the *pari passu* system the suggestion that before this reform was effected public opinion in Malta might be again consulted. This would, of course, have made the matter more than ever a political question, and that the Commission had already deprecated. The Imperial Government, therefore, when restoring the Constitution, abolished by Letters Patent of May 2, 1932, the teaching of Italian in the elementary schools without any consultation of public opinion, but did not alter its status in the secondary schools or in the University, where it remains one of the two principal languages. The Nationalist Party deeply resented this modification

of their *pari passu* legislation, and having made a great point of it at the election claimed that their majority was a mandate from the people to oppose the new Letters Patent. The Nationalist majority was, however, much more a condemnation of Lord Strickland and of his anti-clerical attitude in the past. The new government began by trying to persuade the Secretary of State to modify the Letters Patent. They failed, and then began to arrange for the teaching of Italian out of school hours in the elementary schools by the Government teachers from Standard 1 upwards—thus going further, it will be noted, than the *pari passu* Act of 1923, which only began the teaching of Italian in Standard 3. Dr Mizzi issued a circular to all parents asking whether they wished their children to learn Italian as a voluntary subject, and he claims that over 80 per cent. of the votes were favourable. This so-called plebiscite proved nothing, for two reasons: in the first place, many, if not most, of the parents to whom the letter was sent could not read it, and in the second place, failure to answer was taken to mean assent. No figures have been published to show what proportion of the votes were presumed to be favourable to Italian because no answer was given, but it is stated on reliable authority that the number of answers to the circular was very few. The Secretary of State regarded this as a deliberate attempt to evade his orders, and forbade the teaching of Italian out of school hours. It is only fair to add that Nationalist ministers claim that when in London they gained the impression that no exception would be taken to this policy.

The ministry maintain that from that time onwards they were sullenly acquiescing in the Secretary of State's policy. This may be true of the ministry as a whole, but it is certainly not true of Dr Mizzi in the administration of his department, and if his colleagues did not know what he was doing it was because they deliberately and consciously abstained from knowing. In the indictment issued by the Colonial Office on Nov. 2 it is stated amongst other things that classes at public expense were provided in secondary schools for teaching Italian to children of elementary school age, that Italian was made a compulsory qualification in cases where it had not previously been required and was insisted upon even in the case of

students who were being sent for training to England, and Dr Mizzi had said that he would have to consider amending the law as to compulsory attendance at school in order to nullify the policy of the British Government. It is not denied by some members of the late government that a policy of pinpricks was followed, as, for example, in ostentatiously requiring many public notices and official papers to be published in Italian as well as in English—a deliberate defiance, because under the *pari passu* policy of the Nationalist Government it was the assumption that all children emerging from the schools knew both English and Italian equally well. Although it may be admitted that the Nationalist Party had received some provocation from the Imperial Government and much from the Constitutional Party, their line of conduct during their last period of office is indefensible and the Governor had no alternative but to dismiss them for what must be regarded as disloyalty.

Unfortunately, these events in Malta were complicated by a great development of Italianising influences. The Italian Government does admittedly subsidise Italian schools abroad, and the great increase in the number of pupils in some of these schools in Malta, particularly in the Umberto I, is objected to by the British Government as it was largely due to an influx of Maltese boys. There are in Italy numerous independent bodies, notably the Dante Alighieri Society, which devote their energies to Italianisation. No objection had been raised by the British Government to the formation of a 'balilla movement,' a Fascist equivalent to the Boy Scouts, amongst the Italians, but it spread rapidly among Maltese boys, largely because they were taken without charge for long camping holidays in Italy. Examples of this Italianising influence could be multiplied, but the fact is scarcely disputed. This internal Italian propaganda in fact dates from the advent to power of the Nationalist Government, although they deny that they encouraged it. It stands to reason, however, that Dr Mizzi's language policy facilitated it, and the present writer is not aware that he would deny that he sympathised with it. The first measures taken by the new Crown Colony government were directed to counteracting these influences and to reducing Italianising institutions to the position they occupied two years ago. This

was done by a course of action which culminated in the Aliens Ordinance empowering the Governor 'to license aliens practising a profession, owning or managing a school, or teaching, or managing institutions or public premises.'

It was not to be expected that public opinion in Italy should be uninterested, for in that country there has long existed an exaggerated view of the *Italianità* of Malta. Various authoritative publications include Malta in a special class of places including San Marino, the Vatican city, Nice, Dalmatia, etc., while one describes the inhabitants of these places as 'Italiani oltre confine' (Italians abroad). In a series of illustrated monographs dealing otherwise exclusively with Italian cities, called '*Italia Artistica*,' one volume deals with Malta. Unfortunately, the suspension of the Constitution was greeted in some Italian newspapers with a number of articles which abandoned protest and took to vituperation of Britain, British officials, and British people.

The Italian Government frankly admit that they have no right to make any representations with regard to a British possession, and in any case they could hardly do so consistently in view of the Italianising policy that they pursue in Rhodes and other possessions. Nor could a Fascist Government be shocked at the suspension of a Constitution inspired by Liberal sentiment and based on popular election. They also deny explicitly that they or Italian public opinion regard Malta as part of *Italia Irredenta*, but they do feel sore that the Italian language should be abolished in the primary schools of a country which has for centuries been under the influence of Italian culture. Such a feeling is natural, and it may be wondered whether Britain in like circumstances would not also feel some resentment. It is all the more creditable, therefore, that the Italian Government has maintained an attitude of complete friendliness throughout and has used its influence to moderate criticism in the Italian papers.

It must now be asked who are the personalities of this Maltese play and what real forces they represent. It is inevitable to begin with Lord Strickland, who, if he did not create the Constitutional Party, at any rate now dominates it. Half-English and half-Maltese, he stands in principle for self-government for Malta and for the

closest possible co-operation with the Empire. Unfortunately, he is in the words of the Royal Commission, 'a dominating and aggressive force, with a manner calculated to cause irritation and annoyance,' and the extreme bitterness of party division in Malta is in considerable measure attributable to him. It might, moreover, have been hoped that with wide experience both as a Colonial Governor and as a member successively of the two Houses of the British Parliament, he would have done much to start Maltese self-government on sound lines; unfortunately, his example has not been elevating and he must bear his share of responsibility for the jobbery and acrimony of Maltese politics. Two of the ministers of his administrations, Sir Augustus Bartolo and Colonel Sammut, have found that it is impossible to work with him, and Professor Galea is almost the only prominent man of independence and moderation left in the Constitutional Party. But the great indictment against Lord Strickland is that he claims for his party that they alone are loyal to the British connection. It may be true that all those who are anti-British are Nationalists, but it is not true that all Nationalists are anti-British. More recruits have come to the Nationalist banner through personal dislike of Lord Strickland than through political dislike of Great Britain.

The extremist on the other side is Dr Enrico Mizzi, who, educated in Italy and half-Italian by blood, has not concealed the fact that he is pro-Italian in more than the question of language. He is of the stuff that fanatics are made of, and was imprisoned for sedition during the War. He was willing to resign his portfolio to save the Nationalist Ministry and to enable their activities to be carried on. He is only joint leader of the Nationalist Party, but for some unexplained reason, which may be force of character or something else, he was able to dominate the policy of the last Nationalist Government. Sir Ugo Mifsud, the ex-Premier, is an able advocate and an amiable gentleman who was unwilling or unable to control circumstances. No one who knows him believes that he is personally disloyal to the British connection, but he was the head of an administration rightly dismissed for disloyalty. His tragedy was that he could not form an administration without uniting with Dr Mizzi, and

union with Dr Mizzi made the dismissal of his administration sooner or later inevitable.

The only political issue which really divides the two parties is the language question. The Nationalists represent most of the priests and a large number of the lawyers who are familiar with Italian and therefore have a vested interest in the retention of that language in the law courts and as much as possible elsewhere. The Constitutional Party advocate the encouragement of Maltese for sentimental and of English for economic reasons. It would probably also be true to say that the Constitutional Party is a little more anxious for progressive social legislation. One of the chief causes of division between the parties is, however, personal animosity. This is obvious in the case of the politicians on both sides, but it tends to spread political interest throughout the country, for rival villages, clubs, musical bands, and alienated relations incline to attach themselves to the rival political parties. This tendency for every advance by one party to occasion an equal and opposite reaction has given to the Constitutional Party a reality and a cohesion which cannot be explained entirely by the money Lord Strickland is able to spend on organisation and on newspapers.

Party politics in Malta, then, derived their inspiration from personal rivalries and were played chiefly with the language question, which is a reserved subject, as their chessboard. Party politics are only elevated above faction when they represent a struggle between high conflicting ideals; in Malta these are entirely lacking. The smallness of the place makes Malta as full of cliques as a small provincial town in England, while the press maintains its long-established reputation for scurrility and invective. This game has been played for a decade by means of the elaborate and pretentious Constitution set up in 1921. Is it any wonder that it has engendered bitterness and divided families?

It is earnestly to be hoped that the present suspension of the Constitution will last indefinitely, and that the old legislature will be commemorated only by the stain on the tapestry of the Council Chamber where an inkpot hurled by one legislator at another broke against the wall. A return to the Constitution would result in either Lord Strickland or Dr Mizzi coming back to power, and

this article has tried to show that either event would be a misfortune. The majority of observers in Malta do not believe that if the Constitution were abolished there would be any popular resentment, although the politicians on both sides, who alone would be the sufferers, would no doubt be able to stage some protests. Whether Crown Colony government would continue to be popular would necessarily depend upon certain conditions being fulfilled. In the first place, it would be essential for the Governor to have a council of Maltese to advise him. It would be most inexpedient to hold any elections, as this would renew the evils of faction, and would result in those politicians on both sides who have done so much harm being returned because they control the electoral machines. It will, therefore, be necessary for the Governor's advisers to be nominated, and they should be drawn from the considerable number of representative Maltese of integrity and standing who have stood clear of the mud-flinging of politics. Men of the right kind can be found, and they would keep the Government in touch with Maltese public opinion.

In the second place, Crown Colony government must not mean in this century the attitude of detachment that it meant in the last. Then the Government accepted no responsibility except that of maintaining law and order and keeping taxation low. Such a policy would probably not satisfy any people now, still less the Maltese who have heard much and seen a little of social legislation under responsible government. The most obvious and urgent need in Malta is for a progressive agricultural policy. With a population already pressing against the economic resources of the island, almost all land under cultivation, no large industries except the dockyard, and all channels of emigration at least temporarily closed, it is vital to increase the productivity per square yard, and it appears certain that the application of modern methods to production and marketing would bring about this result. It will mean enlisting the knowledge of the Colonial Office agricultural advisers and expending money to carry out their recommendations. The appointment of Dr Gius Micallef, the late Nationalist Minister of Agriculture, as permanent head of the department, though resented by the Constitutionalists, is proof that, where a

man is loyal to the Crown, past association with the Nationalist Party will not prevent him if suitable from being given a post under Crown Colony government. Education must be extended, but with a special bias towards industry. A development of junior technical instruction is the first step needed, and it should then be possible to set up a senior technical school. Similarly, there is need for an economical encouragement of working-class houses in and near Valletta.

Thirdly, the appalling delays of litigation in the Maltese courts is not merely a scandal—it amounts to a denial of justice. It is a reproach not merely to the politicians of the period of responsible government, but also to the old Crown Colony administrators who allowed it to continue for decades. The Royal Commission drew attention to a case where in eight months the parties were called eleven times before the court, and only on five occasions were the proceedings advanced; and to another case where the first hearing took place two years after the claim had been filed and seven months after the first of five occasions when the case had been called but adjourned unheard. But the Commission did little more than recommend that judges should be appointed at the Governor's own discretion and from amongst advocates of not less than twelve years' standing. This was designed to avoid a repetition of the appointment by Lord Strickland of a young Constitutionalist to the Bench when well under thirty years of age.

Whether the administration of justice in Malta will ever be expeditious until most cases are tried in Maltese, which is the language spoken by all Maltese witnesses, may be doubted; but a resolute administration could cut out some of the causes of delay. Judges at present sit only in the mornings and usually only on three days a week, the excuse apparently being that the rest of the time is needed for preparing judgment, which is almost invariably reserved and written. It does not seem unreasonable to ask the judge to sit five mornings and four afternoons a week and to prepare their judgments in the considerable time left free. This would not be an intolerable burden if they delivered some extempore judgments, which should not be beyond their capacity. Nor can there be any justification for putting down forty to fifty

cases for hearing in the same day and requiring the attendance of parties and witnesses, often for the sole purpose of hearing the case adjourned. There can be no valid reason why a cause list upon a time-table basis of three weeks or a month should not be drawn up. The practice of adjourning a case because counsel has accepted too many briefs and is pleading in another court is also a cause of great delay and leads to an unlimited protraction of litigation far graver than the converse abuse in English courts where so many cases are conducted by juniors in the absence of their leaders. There is no more urgent need in Malta to-day than a reform of the law courts, which reminds one that Dickens did not exaggerate when he wrote of Jarndyce v. Jarndyce and Doctors' Commons in 'Bleak House.'

The Colonial Office has progressed a long way of recent years, and we may confidently expect that if Crown Colony government is restored in Malta it will initiate a constructive and progressive administration which will achieve more for the welfare of the Maltese people than the politics of the last decade. The lesson of Newfoundland and Malta seems to be that responsible government does not flourish in small islands. The House of Commons was reluctant to accept responsibility for the debts incurred by the politicians of Newfoundland, and it will take cognisance of the secondary and minor indictment of the late Nationalist Government that their last budget would have reduced the Treasury balance, and contemplated raising a loan for public works which, according to the older tradition from which Lord Strickland was the first to depart, should have been financed out of the year's revenue.

Whether Crown Colony government should be permanent it is perhaps unnecessary to inquire. Certainly it should last for twenty years. But it would be a mistake to rule out the possibility of setting up at a later date some self-governing institutions on municipal lines. This would be appropriate to Malta's size, wealth, and population. There is, moreover, a problem facing the islands which the Colonial Office may well desire to put on to Maltese shoulders. Intensive economic development can only postpone the day when the population of Malta, increasing at the rate of 3000 per year, will be more than

the islands can support. Emigration on a large scale will then be the only solution, and it may be doubted whether that could ever be successfully undertaken by any but an indigenous government. This great economic problem of the future is an argument in favour of the teaching of the English language and for Maltese loyalty to the British Empire, which includes many lands of great promise for Maltese emigration, for all existing questions will lose their significance when Malta comes up against the great population problem.

HUGH MOLSON. *M.P.*

Art. 11.—WATER SUPPLIES AND THE DROUGHT.

THE water supplies of most of our towns are now so good that a regular and abundant service is usually taken for granted, at any rate except when the bill comes for payment, and that is generally small for the boon. In the country the conditions are different, and the two problems must be separately considered. The recent drought has brought home the importance for health and convenience of plentiful supplies.

First as to the measure of the drought. We have to go back nearly fifty years, to 1887, to find its parallel. There were severe droughts in 1921 and 1929, but they were not so trying. A few figures will indicate the position. For replenishing water supplies, the rains of importance are those of the months of October to April. During the long warm days of the other months, evaporation and absorption by thirsty soil and plant take up most of the rain which falls, though heavy storms of rain even during the summer months may be a pleasant help to depleted supplies—if they fall in the right places. Figures of average rainfall are instructive but may be misread. The incidence of rainfall varies greatly for places as well as for years. Even in a year of drought some places may enjoy plentiful rain. The drought of 1933-4, however, prevailed throughout the country except for a few small patches, the one area of size being in the North Riding, though more intensely in some parts than in others, one especially dry area being a large belt of land, usually of abundant rain, including North and Mid-Wales, Cheshire, South and Mid-Lancashire, and a small adjoining area of Yorkshire, a belt which contains the sources of supply of many large towns.

With these qualifications and with the further explanation that 'normal' rainfall is the average rainfall for the 35 years, 1881 to 1915, the following figures will give a good general picture of the intensity of the drought, if it be remembered that the figures are only broad averages and that detailed statistics must be consulted for a more accurate picture. To appreciate the measure and the consequences of the shortage of rain in 1933, it is necessary to consider the rainfall in October to December of the previous, and in January to April of the subsequent,

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year. The relative figures are shown in the table, with corresponding figures for the droughts of 1929, 1921, and 1887; 'the year' in the heading of the table is the year stated in the first column. The figures show the average monthly rainfall in England and Wales and are given to the nearest unit; figures for Scotland are broadly similar, somewhat worse for 1933, which was a record dry year for that country.

Year.	Previous year Oct.-Dec.	The year			Subse- quent year, Jan.- Apl.	Average for the year.	Average for 19 mos. Oct. of previous year to Apl. of subse- quent year.
		Jan.- Apl.	May- Sept.	Oct.- Dec.			
Normal Period.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1933	82	111	74	69	90	83	82
1929	121	49	87	149	113	100	107
1921	73	77	67	68	138	70	84
1887	131	72	60	88	88	74	88

1933 started well. For January to April the rainfall was above normal, February, usually dry, being very wet. The later months, however, turned a different face, and Britons enjoyed a rare prodigality of blue skies. Each month from April onwards, except October, provided less than normal rainfall, August only a little over a third and December even less than a third. The excess in October was very slight, though great storms of rain brought welcome relief to some places, including one large town in danger of shortage of water where the committee decided to defer for a while, in view of the 'more promising' prospects, their decision whether to undertake emergency measures, and during that time the reservoirs were replenished to the full by two days' torrents of rain. Would that a like trust always met with a like reward! The figures of evaporation in 1933 are also remarkable. In the annual survey published in 'The Times' of Feb. 7 last, it is stated that the records made at Camden Square, London, showed that evaporation from April to the end of the year exceeded the rainfall by nearly 6 inches. It is noteworthy that, even for the whole year,

evaporation exceeded rainfall by 2 inches, as compared with a normal excess rainfall of about 9 inches. The records are made under conditions differing from those of nature, but they indicate the intensity of evaporation during the year. What specially marks out 1933-4, however, is the serious shortage of rain in the first four months of 1934, after the serious shortage of the last nine months of 1933. 1887-8 provides the only recent parallel. Those who supply water have had and will have a testing time.

How have water undertakers hitherto stood this severe strain—those of the towns; rural conditions will be considered later? It appears that in few towns have supplies been much restricted, and even there without any serious consequences, except in one town where trade as well as domestic supplies were curtailed. The special measures taken have been prohibition of use of water for gardens, for washing motor-cars and the like; cutting off supplies at night; at many more, strong appeals for economy in the use of water. There has been little evidence of any real hardship, outside rural areas. Probably no country put to a similar trial could have equalled this record, and water authorities as a whole can be proud of it. London scarcely knew there was a drought except for the blue skies overhead, thanks to the foresight of the Metropolitan Water Board in providing ample reserves and inter-communicating their sources so that supplies from the depleted Lee could be made good from the Thames—and thanks also to the Thames, among the finest of rivers for water supplies; if ever river deserved an altar and sacrifices it is the Thames, and Lord Desborough, the chairman of the Conservancy Board, would make a splendid high priest!

After the prolonged shortage of rain in 1933 it was reasonable to expect that the rainfall for January to April of this year would at least come near to normal, then most water undertakers, at any rate those who depended on surface supplies, as do most of the large authorities, would again be in a secure position for meeting the summer demand. But the heavens failed them. As the figures which have been given show, the rainfall for those months was seriously short. January, March, and April were above the average, but in February the

rainfall was only 22 per cent. of normal, and the average total for the four months fell short of the normal by 10 per cent. April at one time looked like saving the situation but failed, though the total rainfall for the month yielded 37 per cent. above the normal. Water undertakers, therefore, found themselves with a crisis graver even than that of 1933. The Minister of Health stated in Parliament that during this time his Department was carefully watching the situation and keeping in touch with the representative organisations. In April, he introduced the Water Supplies (Exceptional Shortage Orders) Bill, explaining that he had waited until it was clear that emergency legislation was imperative because of the drastic powers which would be needed. Drastic undoubtedly the powers are, a ready target for those who enjoy shouting 'bureaucracy' at each and every opportunity, but not more drastic than the crisis demanded. The Bill became an Act on May 17.

Under the Act the Minister is enabled to do by Order many things which ordinarily can be effected only by Bill or by Provisional Order (that is, an Order which has to be incorporated in a Bill to be submitted to Parliament). These include power to authorise the taking of water from new sources; to remove restrictions imposed by statutory authority on the taking of water (for example, that not more than a specified quantity shall be taken from the source); to reduce the quantity of compensation water (that is, the water which has to be passed down a stream as a condition of impounding it for public supplies); to authorise or to compel one water undertaker to supply water to another; to reduce supplies for particular purposes or to particular persons or classes of persons; to restrict the quantity of water which may be taken from a source by particular persons if public supplies are endangered; to regulate the opening and closing of sluices in order to safeguard supplies. These powers can be conferred only if required to meet the emergency arising from the drought and, with one exception, may be conferred only for six months, but may be renewed if still required for the emergency, not, however, beyond Dec. 31, 1935, when the Act comes to an end. The one exception is that the Minister may authorise the taking of water for an indefinite period where satisfied that the

emergency cannot be met except by permanent works (such as the sinking of a new well), that the works can be completed in six months, and that the powers are such as would be granted if applied for under the ordinary law. Entry on necessary land may be authorised on seven days' notice.

Compensation is payable to persons who suffer damage, full compensation where the taking of water for an indefinite period is authorised, qualified compensation in other cases. The provisions relating to this latter are of interest as an attempt to spread fairly between interested parties the burden of a very exceptional drought, which is in the nature of an Act of God. It appears not to have been practicable to lay down definite rules, no doubt because local circumstances differ so greatly. The course adopted is to authorise the arbitrator, if he thinks fit, to reduce the amount of compensation for one of two considerations—firstly, where, for instance, a water undertaker is authorised to take more water from a source than the previous statutory limit, the arbitrator may have regard to the equitable distribution of the reduced available water between the parties who have been drawing water from the source ; secondly, where the amount of compensation water is reduced, he may have regard to the quantity of water which would have been available to the claimant during the drought had the undertaking not existed, that is, to the natural flow of the stream (which, it may be mentioned, in some places has at times been less than a half of the compensation water which has had to be provided). The equity of these provisions seems indicated by the negligible amount of criticism. An interesting feature is that these new powers may be conferred not only on local authorities and statutory companies, but also on any of the hundreds of private persons and companies providing public supplies up and down the country—apparently the first occasion on which they have received any direct statutory recognition. The Act is designed to help all water undertakers over the hurdle of the drought.

What are the prospects that with these new powers the country will be able to win through the summer without serious trouble, especially the most testing time of the later months of the summer ? The resources of many

authorities are at a low level, many being much less than half the normal reserves at this time of the year. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that the reserves of an ordinary year are sufficient, where prudent provision has been made, to meet not only the demands of the summer months but also to provide a reserve for periods of drought which may reasonably be expected. But even allowing for this, the present reserves of a number of places are seriously low. For the large undertakers, surface supplies are at present the worst hit. Many deep wells, however, are at a low level and some were still falling at the end of the winter months, when they should have been rising. On the other hand, some underground supplies have not yet shown the effects of the drought, and may not do so for some time. Rivers depending largely on springs may also continue to be affected for still many months. It is not practicable yet to say definitely whether all water undertakers will pull through without serious trouble, but so far as can be judged there will be few places, if indeed any, which will not manage to do so, provided (this is crucial) that consumers play their part. If we have another summer of prolonged dryness and heat, the strain on some undertakings will undoubtedly be severe. Some of the towns in the West Riding and in Lancashire are among the most tried.

The first line of defence in any exceptional drought is the reduction of consumption. While no one wants to stint consumption of water in normal times, and increasing consumption is a sure sign of the spread of amenities, there is nevertheless great waste, through leakage from mains and service pipes and from dripping taps—one such tap may account for as many as 12 gallons a day—and prodigal use by consumers. Where necessary, a reduction of consumption of at least 25 per cent. should be sought; it is stated that a reduction of over 30 per cent. has already been effected in some places. Savings of this order are not likely to be possible, however, without systematic vigilance, including the appointment, if need be, of special officers for checking waste and frequent appeals to the public, for memories are short in these matters. With care, householders can save much water and also serve their own interests in the long run; refreshing baths can be taken with half or even much

less of the usual water. Washing hands and face with a running tap, letting water run to waste from, for instance, the hot-water tap until it reaches just the right temperature, these and similar forms of waste should be regarded as offences where water is seriously short. If consumers will not help in a time of special emergency they deserve to suffer.

The Minister of Health has stated that endeavour should be made not to curtail necessary trade supplies, which would hinder the heartening recovery of trade, but experience shows that in this quarter also there is often a good deal of waste—waste which may proceed unchecked because its cost is trivial compared with the total outgoings, but which should now be stopped in the general interest. In addition to making sure of this reasonable co-operation from consumers, water undertakers must take special measures to obtain, where necessary and practicable, the emergency supplies required to make their position secure, and to take them betimes, because new supplies cannot be improvised in a moment and well-considered plans make for economy. The new Act provides the needed powers and there is no lack of the required technical ability, with the help of the wide experience of the Ministry of Health.

What of the permanent position? The drought carries two dangers in matters of policy—on the one hand, that it may scare water undertakers into panic measures and extravagant expenditure; on the other, that they may thank God when the trial has passed and take their ease. As to the first, it would be foolish to rush into heavy expenditure on additional supplies simply because of the very exceptional drought. Reserves can be provided to meet, without any curtailment of supplies, even the most exceptional drought hitherto experienced. The price varies according to local conditions, but on a rough estimate it would reach at many places the equivalent of another one shilling in the pound on the rates, to be paid in good year and in bad, either in increased water charges or in rates, or partly in both—a heavy insurance for a rare contingency, much too heavy most prudent persons will say, provided that the contingency when it does occur can be met without any grave hardship by some self-denial and other special measures. It is neces-

sary in public no less than in private expenditure to make sure that a good return is obtained, and in the occasional times of difficulty there is apt to be a clamour for too ample a margin of safety.

As to the second, the danger of complacent quietism, all water undertakers should searchingly survey their position in the light of their experience during the drought, in the light also of the new calls likely to be made upon them. The country would not have pulled through the present trial so readily had not the demand for water been reduced by the trade depression. But this is only a temporary break. Consumption will continue its upward trend, including domestic consumption, which before the depression showed marked increases, due partly to the provision of baths and the like but even more of hot-water systems; evidence shows that a working-class family, moved from an old cottage with primitive provision to a house with modern conveniences, may increase its daily consumption per head from seven or eight gallons to as much as fifteen—without, be it noted, a corresponding increase of revenue. True that population is reaching a stationary level, but its distribution will change. It is not easy to forecast probable needs, and water authorities have been blamed for over-estimating requirements, being accused of neglecting the declining rate of increase of population, and also, when shortage is at the door, of not providing sufficient reserves. Theirs is a difficult task, but forecast needs they must and that over a long period of years, because sources must be reserved, and even works commenced, long before the water is required for use.

A number of heroic proposals have been put forward. Salvation by the grid has been suggested by persons misled by the analogy of electricity, neglectful of the very different conditions, that water must be taken where it is found and found in appropriate quantity, of the required purity and at suitable levels if pumping at inordinate cost is to be avoided; that for impounding supplies sites must be chosen where a dam can be built and water held, not always a simple matter as some costly experiences have demonstrated; not least important, that transporting water over long distances, through expensive trunk mains and sometimes costly tunnels, runs away with money.

The grid for water supply is a daydream of the uninstructed layman. At the same time, more co-operation between neighbouring authorities is unquestionably required.

From time to time the favourite device of salvation by the omnipotent State has been advocated—the establishment of a National Water Board to survey the water resources of the country, to allocate supplies and generally to control and to supervise the provision of water, though some would seemingly go still farther and make it an operative body, a counterpart of the Central Electricity Board. Boards are at present in the fashion, reminiscent of the many special bodies formed in the latter years of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth centuries for the then pressing problems of local government—with possibly at a later date a similar reaction. Those familiar with the practice and problems of water supplies, the variety of schemes and conditions, from the tiny village supply through all grades and classes up to the giant enterprise of the Metropolitan Water Board, and the close connection with other questions of local government, will not lightly suggest too much central management, though central supervision and some measure of central control there must be, through the appropriate authority, the Water Department of the Ministry of Health, with the aid on general questions of the Advisory Committee attached to it.

The immediate policy announced by the Ministry of Health is the formation of Regional Water Committees, representative of local authorities, rural as well as urban, and other large water undertakers, with the duty of ascertaining local needs within the region and of formulating the best measures for meeting them. An academic survey of water resources would be interesting, but, if comprehensive and of value, would be expensive and would not contribute much to the solution of water problems in proportion to the cost. What is primarily needed is an informed survey of local needs over a wide enough area and a long enough period, and then the marrying of those needs to appropriate sources of supply. The policy of regional committees has, therefore, much in its favour, especially because local knowledge and ability can thus be harnessed, the active interest of local authorities be retained and their financial resources used.

The Minister of Health recently stated that six regional committees, covering large areas, have already been formed, and that others are being constituted.

The question is whether local authorities and water companies will show sufficient readiness to co-operate, sufficient energy in formulating long-term programmes, and sufficient public spirit to subordinate individual preferences to the needs of the region. There is undoubtedly still far too much parochialism, too much reluctance to adapt policy to modern conditions and modern needs. It is doubtful whether what is needed can be secured without the active stimulus of the Central Department, and almost certain that, if it cannot thus be obtained, sooner or later more powers of compulsion are inevitable. The place of Parliament in these matters needs to be considered. Is it necessary that all, or nearly all, proposals of moment for new supplies should have to be examined in detail by Parliament? And, a larger issue, is this in the long run in the interests of Parliamentary government? Is it expedient, perhaps essential, if a long-term consistent policy of water supplies is to be pursued, with allocation of sources before they need to be utilised, that proposals should be scrutinised and determined by a permanent authority, responsible to Parliament for general policy but not for confirmation of individual decisions? These are some of the questions which arise.

There remains to be considered the question of rural supplies. The drought has been severely felt in many rural areas. The Minister of Health stated that inquiries had been made of all rural districts as to the prevailing conditions, and, where needed, help in meeting difficulties afforded through his officials. Reports of hardship have been much exaggerated. Special measures have been adopted where local supplies have failed, as by carting water or, in some districts, by bringing back in the evening filled with water the cans which in the morning had been taken out filled with milk. But much hardship has been endured up and down the country, especially in individual homesteads or isolated groups of them. The drought, however, did but exaggerate difficulties which in many villages have been chronic. Every

summer, if not wet, has brought shortage of supplies in some places and, summer and winter, the water may be wanting in purity. In most places the trouble is money, the high cost of appropriate supplies in proportion to income, an income depending on water charges levied on a small number of houses, many of them perhaps scattered and therefore adding to the cost of distribution, and most of low rateable value. Where a piped water supply has been provided it is not unusual to find the parish saddled with a deficiency rate of as much as 2*s.* 6*d.* in the pound, in some places more, in addition to water charges.

Many rural parishes cannot afford an adequate supply out of their own resources. They must be helped, and the trend of policy has been to afford them help. By the Local Government Act of 1929, rural district councils and county councils were empowered to contribute towards the cost from their general rates. The response, slow at first, has accelerated in recent years, partly under the stimulus of the Ministry of Health. Some rural district councils have undertaken to bear the whole deficiency of parochial schemes, with or without help from the county council, and this seems likely to become increasingly the practice, ultimately, perhaps, leading to its general application by legislation. Many county councils have adopted systematic schemes of aid, the measure of aid depending on local means, and it would be well if others followed this course.

It has become obvious, however, that all that is required cannot be provided without still more help, if modern standards are to be met, while at the same time rural needs have become more vocal, the women in particular finding voice through the National Federation of Women's Institutes—and, incidentally, a very level voice though not the less persistent. The drought brought matters to a head, and, at the instance of the Minister of Health, by the recent Rural Water Supplies Act, Parliament voted a sum of 1,000,000*l.* to help in providing schemes of rural water supplies. It has been said that 1,000,000*l.* is much too little: that remains to be seen. It should stimulate schemes many times its value. After all, rural areas must not be too lightly relieved: there is already tendency enough to lean on government

and authorities. Whether aid comes from county or State, it should be realised that what happens in the main is that the town is subsidising the village. There is a limit to this relief, a limit in the interests of the vitality of rural life equally as much as that of the purse. One new source of additional revenue which rural authorities might canvass is a possible demand for supplies of pure water from dairy farmers, anxious to fulfil modern standards of clean milk. The present is a favourable time for carrying out schemes because of the much cheaper rate at which money may be borrowed.

The million pounds will have to be distributed with hard-headed care if it is to produce its expected measure of schemes. Rural consumers must be prepared to make fair payment for the boon of a good water scheme, and for this purpose the percentage charges cannot but be high because of the low rateable value; $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., a moderate figure for a piped rural supply, on a cottage rated at 7*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* yields less than 4*½d.* a week, and large numbers of rural cottages are rated at less. There must be no countenance to the sentiments of one village short of water which, according to the local Press, was offered an ample supply of water at the low price of 4*d.* the 1000 gallons, held a village meeting to consider the offer and rejected it, one farmer declaring that in times of difficulty his grandfather had carted water from the stream, his father had done the same, and he was proud to follow in their footsteps! Schemes must be accommodated to local conditions and resources. The primary necessity is abundant water of good quality readily available. Good wells may be all that is needed and practicable at some places; at many others, more cannot prudently be afforded than stand-pipe supplies, especially because, with piped supplies, a sewerage scheme might become necessary in order to avoid insanitary conditions, and this would be a severe added burden.

Because of the lack of other local resources some places, especially where houses are widely scattered, may have to depend, partly or even wholly, on the collection and storage of rain-water, from private roofs for private supplies and from public buildings for a general reserve. Not nearly enough use is made of rain-water for domestic supplies, though many villages in some parts of the

country have depended for generations on this source of supply, the traditions of its use being handed down from family to family ; lacking these traditions or proper knowledge the former town dweller often finds himself in difficulties. Rural district councils could help in encouraging more use, and more intelligent use, of rain-water and in disseminating information of necessary measures. Proper advice and supervision will be required for schemes, and proper advice includes not only technical skill but adaptation to local conditions and resources—there is sometimes too much tendency to treat the village as though it were a small town—and supervision will be required after, as well as during, the carrying out of the scheme. In the past sources of supply have been neglected and allowed to become polluted.

One of the most hopeful signs of the last two years has been the increasing activity of county councils in rural supplies. Without touching on the vexed question whether county councils should become the responsible authorities, they can to a large extent become the saviours of rural supplies, by providing stimulus, skilled advice, and material help. Some of them have already undertaken surveys of the rural area of the county and have engaged the services of qualified water engineers, whose advice will presumably be at the disposal of the rural councils. With these measures, the way of solving the largest part of the rural water problem is open. The primary responsibility falls on the rural district councils, and presents them with the opportunity of vindicating their right to survival at a time when events are casting doubts ; but in a way even more will depend on the county councils, on the extent to which they rise to the occasion. The national associations representing the rural district councils and the county councils are keenly alive to the situation. Will the individual authorities play their part, especially the drowsy ones ? Some may need stirring, but most appear keen to take advantage of the present opportunities.

Summing up the general situation, the severe test of the drought has found most urban water undertakings sound, with reasonable provision for emergencies, but those who manage them should thoroughly review their position in the light of the drought, while at the same

time careful to avoid the waste of panic expenditure. While common prudence may make it foolish in most cases, though not necessarily in all, to attempt reserves adequate for the very exceptional, rare drought, reserves should be provided fully adequate for other emergencies, and, as a condition of not providing reserves for the very rare drought, plans should be ready for surmounting it and be kept up to date. Long views must be cultivated—water schemes of size take years to be carried out; resources may need to be allocated many years before required. Needs must be estimated for many years ahead, and periodically checked by experience, and sound policy formulated for meeting them. This can best be done, where neighbouring areas have common interests, by regional committees, competently advised, and much money can thus be saved and needs better met. If water authorities are found wanting in sufficient public spirit and enlightenment energetically to co-operate in this way, the time may come when compulsion will be applied, compulsion of co-operation or, more drastic still, compulsion of policy determined by a central authority, to be observed by all those to whom it is applied. Water is so much a matter of local provision, and it is so important for democratic government to avoid excessive centralisation, that it is devoutly to be hoped that, with the help of the Ministry of Health, water authorities will shed their parochialism, rise to the wider horizons of modern needs and work out considered regional policies which, when dovetailed, will provide a national policy of the best sort, one fashioned from the needs of the areas which have to be served.

For rural supplies help must be, and has been, provided. But rural consumers must be willing to pay their fair portion towards the cost. If all parties do their share, consumer and parish, district and county, the back of the rural problem can be broken with the million of money made available by the Government. In some respects success may depend more on county councils even than on rural district councils or the Ministry of Health, and it is earnestly to be hoped that they will rise to the opportunity, and that in this way, with the close co-operation of all interests, one of the principal difficulties of rural life will be removed.

Art. 12.—CONSERVATISM AND THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

THE third year of a parliament is traditionally in this country the dangerous age for governments. During the first year they are carried high on the flood tide of victory. They come into power as the result of a strong reaction of public feeling against the administration which preceded them. They can do practically what they like. By the second year, the issues of the General Election are beginning to fade from the memory of the voters. Signs of irritation are beginning to show themselves. Unpopular things have inevitably been done. Yet the impetus, which brought the government in, still carries them through. But by the third year, the tide has slackened. It is even beginning to ebb. Ministers have been put into power to carry out some mandate. Either they have failed, in which case they are rightly discredited ; or they have succeeded, in which case their mandate is exhausted. The public begins to ask what they are going to do next. It is of no use for them to point to what has been achieved once it has been assimilated into the social and economic life of the nation. It cannot be distinguished from what has been done by other governments in the past. Their position may be compared to that of a man who carries, with great effort, a bucket of water, and pours it into a pool, and then calls his employer and says, ' Look, I have put a bucketful into that pool ; the level is higher than ever before,' only to get the discouraging reply, ' I cannot distinguish between your bucketful and all the others that have been put in ; and anyhow, I wanted not merely a pool, but a lily pool. When are you going to put in the lilies ? ' That is the attitude of the electorate. They are never impressed by achievement. They are constantly asking for more.

These persistent demands the government generally find it increasingly difficult to satisfy. For one thing, though it may seem to the general public that as soon as legislation has passed through Parliament the task of the minister is ended, this, in fact, is by no means true. Nearly all bills involve the setting up of more or less elaborate machinery. The actual passing of the bill into law is, from the administrative point of view, only the

beginning of the matter, and the setting of the machinery in motion may fully occupy the minister and his advisers for many months after the subject has passed from the mind of the ordinary elector. Nor is this all. In old days, a minister had plenty of leisure in which to meditate and elaborate future policy. That is no longer so. As the corporate conscience of the community becomes more active, and as, in consequence, the State tends to assume more and more of those obligations which formerly were the responsibility of the individual, the burden thrown on members of a government becomes heavier and heavier. It is often as much as they can do to keep abreast of the day-to-day work which their position involves. Cabinets, Cabinet Committees, the House of Commons, the administration of their offices, public and constituency engagements follow each other in headlong succession. They hurry from one to the other, taking decisions as they come. For them, the long view is a counsel of perfection. It is an ideal to which they cannot always attain. When therefore a government has carried through the programme which it had already formulated before it came into office, there is always a tendency for its activities to slow up; and this tendency, coming into conflict with the constant demand of the electorate for more and yet more legislation, produces a friction between it and a section of its supporters which steadily grows until, by the time the next election comes, it usually can no longer command a majority in the country, and its opponents, irrespective of their merits, are returned.

We are now in the third year of a parliament. It is nearly three years since the National Government was returned to power by the largest majority ever known in the history of this country; and events since the General Election seem to be following their normal course. During the first year the Ministers were supreme. They could do anything they liked. They were even able to transform our whole fiscal system, to make free-trade England protectionist, with the full support of the Liberal Party. With the coming of the second year, the tide began to slacken. One section of the Liberals began to repent of their precipitancy, and crossed the floor of the House—too late, however, for their peace of mind, for they had already played their part in selling the pass. Their

departure, however, did not greatly impair the prestige of the Government. Its majority remained enormous; and the country, which had given it a free hand, was ready to accept any measures which were likely to re-establish confidence and reduce unemployment. The crisis was passing away; but like a great thundercloud, it still loomed on the horizon. The Labour Party was discredited by its record and torn by dissension. An election seemed out of the question for three years, and supporters of the Government talked freely of the certainty of its re-election for another term of office. But with the coming of the third year, this confidence has received some rude shocks. Important by-elections have been lost; the Socialist Party, without effective leaders or policy, seems to be attracting to its fold a substantial proportion of the floating vote, and as the L.C.C. elections in March have shown, the supporters of those views which, in the national sphere, the Government represents, are becoming apathetic. There appears, in fact, to be a real danger of the usual third-year rot setting in. This loss of support certainly cannot be put down merely to dissatisfaction with the achievements of the last two years. No government of modern times can show such a record of success. Unemployment, which, during the tenure of power of the preceding government, had risen by 1,600,000, is down by over half a million, and is still falling. The adverse balance of trade has been reduced by 147,000,000*l.* Agriculture has at last received a measure of that assistance for which the industry has been clamouring for years. A Bill is before the House of Commons to put the whole system of Unemployment Insurance on a sound financial basis, and to take away from those in receipt of transitional benefit the stigma of poor-law relief. The problem of the slums is at last being taken energetically in hand, and schemes have already been approved by the Ministry of Health for re-housing 1,200,000 slum dwellers in the next five years, which compares strikingly with a total of 200,000 re-housed during the last sixty years. Finally, in his Budget Speech on April 17, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was able to announce that the deficit of 70,000,000*l.* in 1931 has been turned into a surplus of over 38,000,000*l.*, and that it has been possible for him, not only to restore the

10 per cent. cut in unemployment benefit made two years ago, but also to take sixpence off the Income Tax.

That is a record of which any administration might well be proud, and it might legitimately have been expected that the Budget would have strengthened the position of the Government. That was certainly the first impression made both on its supporters and its opponents in the House of Commons. When the announcement of the restoration of the cut in unemployment benefit was made, the Socialist Party found it impossible to conceal their chagrin. Yet in two by-elections held directly after the Budget, the Basingstoke Division, a safe Conservative seat in a south country agricultural district, was only held for the Government by a greatly reduced majority; while North Hammersmith, a seat with a big working-class electorate which had been won from the Socialist Party at the last General Election, was again lost.

What is the reason for this failure of the electorate to react to the stimulus of the Government's performance? Are we to conclude that it is impossible in any way to control or counteract the swing of the pendulum? Obviously, it cannot be counteracted altogether. For it derives from a human instinct which has much in it which is admirable, the desire for perfection. Whatever the improvement in our social condition, the ordinary voter thinks that it could and should be better still, and he cannot see why there should be any delay. Any one who has been connected, in however minor a capacity, with government, realises how slow and ambling an affair human progress must inevitably be. A Victorian Prime Minister once said that when he was a child he thought that the men who drove the omnibuses, perched high up above all other vehicles, dominated the traffic, and it was only when he grew up that he realised that they were remarkably lucky if they avoided an accident; and he added that when he became Prime Minister he found himself in exactly the position of a bus-driver. But the ordinary voter does not understand this. He is still in the childlike phase. He thinks that the Prime Minister and the Government must dominate the situation. If all that he desires is not achieved at once, he thinks that those in charge must be to blame, and that it is high time that some one else should be given a chance.

The main task of the supporters of a moderate government, the main weight that they can throw in to counterbalance the swing of the pendulum, must be to educate the voters. They cannot hope to compete with their opponents in promises. But they can explain how congested is the traffic through which the bus of State, if one may coin such a phrase, must be driven. This, moreover, is the best answer to their opponents. It is in this particular task of education that Mr Baldwin excels. Both in the House of Commons and in the country a great part of his speeches are devoted to a simple exposition of fundamental principles. In them the record of the Government plays a very small part. Often it is hardly mentioned. He is concerned to iterate and reiterate, again and again, not what the Government have done, but what they stand for. After all, boasting about what has been achieved may well be a very double-edged weapon. The Government has, for instance, set up the Milk Marketing Board. That is certainly the most far-reaching attempt that has ever been made to help the dairy industry in this country. Yet all it has achieved up to now is to guarantee to the farmer a price that he does not consider to be economic. So far from being an asset to the Government, it is a heavy liability. What remains an asset is that they have recognised, for the first time in our history, that the prosperity of the countryside is as essential to the towns as the prosperity of the towns is to the countryside; that they are willing to try every experiment, however novel, to increase this prosperity; and that if their first experiments fail, they are ready to try others.

Unfortunately, except by Mr Baldwin, the idea of educating the electorate has not up to now been very widely adopted. This is perhaps natural. The good record of the Government has an irresistible attraction for its supporters. They cannot resist the temptation of rubbing it in. They cannot believe that in the long run this will not have an effect; and yet the lesson of recent by-elections is that it has no effect whatever, and that it is on fundamental principles that the Government must win the next election, if it is to win it at all. After all, the improvement in employment does not merely come from the measures which have been passed, though un-

doubtedly they have played their part. It comes from the feeling of confidence which the Government has created. So long as that feeling of confidence persists, so long as employers feel that it is worth their while employing, for just so long will the improvement continue. But directly it receives a shock it will wilt like a flower at the first frost of winter. That is the main justification of the Government's existence, and it cannot be too often emphasised.

The essential importance of confidence is, too, the main argument against returning to party government. There are many Conservatives at the present time who would like to see a purely Conservative Government. They see no advantage in the admixture of Liberal and Labour opinion. They think it merely an adulteration; and no doubt it is true that wide variations of political thought within a Government inevitably reduce its driving force. But in times of national stress this consideration is easily outweighed by the moral authority that derives from a wide basis. A National government can carry through reforms which a party government could not even attempt. Indeed, it ill befits Conservatives to grumble, at the present time. For years, they have been preaching the merits of Protection. But a complete change in our fiscal system was too tough a nut for any party government to tackle, and it was not until an administration comprising representatives of all Parties came into power that what they had so long and so ardently desired could be accomplished. Moreover, to do away with the National Government at the present time would be in effect to disfranchise a large number of electors. The advocates of a return to Party politics seem fondly to imagine that, faced with the choice of voting for a Liberal Party which could not possibly come into power, a Socialist Party with which they fundamentally did not agree, and a Conservative Party from which they were separated only by the accident of tradition, moderate Liberals would choose the last alternative. But surely they underestimate the strength of tradition in this country. There are many Liberals who, whatever the logical arguments in favour of such a course, simply could not vote Conservative. It would be an act of apostacy of which they would be incapable. They would

either, gloomily and hopelessly, vote Liberal, or they would not vote at all, and the whole of this important anti-Socialist vote would be sacrificed. On the other hand, such Liberals can and will support a National candidate, even if he be a Conservative; for he represents a Government of which some Liberals at least are members. It may be argued that Sir John Simon, Mr Runciman, and those who follow them are not representative Liberals; that the party machine is against them. But will that always be so? It is by no means certain that the time will not come when the Simonite Liberals will capture it. After all, their case is a very strong one. Which section of Liberal opinion has at the present moment most power, those who left the Government or those who stayed inside it? Can any one doubt that it is those who stayed? Sir Herbert Samuel and his followers have rendered themselves entirely impotent to achieve anything for Liberalism or for the country at large. Sir John Simon and Mr Runciman take part in the deliberations of the Cabinet and play their part in moulding the policy of the country. The Samuelite Liberals cannot even have the melancholy satisfaction of having stood unflinchingly by their Free Trade principles. For they supported the Government in their original introduction of Protection. The only justification for their present attitude would be if they honestly believed that they could provide an alternative anti-Socialist Government in the event of the present administration being discredited. But the results of recent by-elections must have shown them that this is a vain hope. They have steadily lost ground since the General Election. The truth is that they have made a bad mistake and at the next election they are likely to be wiped out of existence. As it approaches, and this fact sinks in, even the most fervent member of the Party executive may question whether it would not be wise to transfer the allegiance of the Party as a whole to leaders who at least can keep the Party alive as a political force.

The deep-seated political traditions of this country, which would make a return to Party politics at the present time so dangerous an experiment, are also the strongest argument against taking the step proposed by Sir Thomas Inskip and merging the forces supporting the National

Government into one great political organisation. It is probable, indeed almost certain, that a new party of the right is gradually being formed. But the process cannot be hurried. Anything startlingly new is abhorrent to the British people. They do not object to change. Indeed, there is no nation less reactionary. But they like change to come not through destruction but by adaptation. Every one knows those old manor houses where, century by century, a wing has been added here, a window there, as changing tastes dictate, and yet as little as possible has been destroyed, and all has been allowed to blend with the passage of time into one harmonious whole. That is symbolic of the English spirit, and the people of this country would certainly prefer that the political edifice which is being built should incorporate a Liberal wing, a Conservative wing, and a Labour wing, rather than that it should be an entirely new structure with no signs of its derivation. It may be hoped, therefore, that the National Government may go to the next election if not necessarily with the same membership, at least in its present form. If that should happen, what may be the result? Let us freely recognise that there is not the least likelihood of a repetition of 1931. Whatever steps are taken to mitigate the swing of the political pendulum, it is likely in an unrestricted democracy to be considerable. Moreover, other factors are likely to militate against the Government.

There is, for instance, the Indian problem. On this question, the electorate presents a very curious and unusual political phenomenon. There are, as it were, two Britains. One, comprising the South of England and Lancashire, cares passionately about India, and views with grave distrust the proposals of the White Paper. In the other Britain, comprising the Midlands, the north-eastern portion of England, and Scotland, the subject is practically never mentioned. It is not a live issue at all. This fact is likely to be the cause of great embarrassment to the Government. Indubitably, a large part of next year's parliamentary time will be taken up by the Government of India Bill. This will cause exasperation to both sections of opinion. Lancashire and the south will be irritated because they will at best be lukewarm about the Government proposals. The rest of England

and Scotland will be irritated because they will think that a great deal of time is being wasted on the subject, to the exclusion of the more important problems of trade and unemployment. In either way the Government stand to lose ; and they will get no counterbalancing increase of support from any quarter. For no one really likes the proposals of the White Paper. They are, at the best, only the lesser of two evils. It will, therefore, be of the utmost importance to the Government to reach a decision on this question as soon as possible, so as to allow tempers to cool before the Election comes, and on general grounds it is most sincerely to be hoped that they will not be too unconciliatory in their attitude to the legitimate anxieties of a considerable section of their supporters.

Another question which is likely to be of the utmost delicacy is that of Foreign Affairs. As the East Fulham Election showed, there is no sphere in which the education of the voter is more important : for there is no sphere in which misrepresentation is so easy, or where it is so dangerous. The line which this misrepresentation is likely to take we already know. The voter will be told that the whole blame for the present lamentable situation in Europe lies on the British Government, for, it will be said, if they had taken a strong line earlier, a Disarmament Convention would long ago have been signed. This argument has, of course, a specious charm for the Englishman. It flatters his vanity. England, he says with unction, should lead the world. At the same time, in the present instance, it entirely ignores the realities of the situation. What has, in fact, held up the Disarmament Conference throughout the last two years ? The difficulty of harmonising two conflicting demands, the demand of Germany for equality and the demand of France for security. That difficulty would still have persisted, even if by some cataclysm Great Britain had been sunk in the depths of the North Sea. No action that we, as a nation, could have taken in the last few years could have entirely removed it. Our function has, indeed, been less that of a dictator than of a mediator. In our position of comparative detachment from the difficulties of Europe, we could assist in attempting to find a basis of compromise between two conflicting opinions. We could recognise the justice of Germany's claim for more equality. We

could minimise the threat to France's security which she believed that German equality involved by offering her some *quid pro quo* in the form of assistance by us in the event of a crisis. That is all we could do. But it would be entirely wrong to describe this as the negation of a policy. It is a very definite policy. And it is a policy that has unswervingly been pursued. It was the motive force behind the Draft Convention of March 1933, behind the British proposals of last October, behind the White Paper of January of this year, and behind all the negotiations which have flowed from that document. Unfortunately, in spite of our efforts, no basis of compromise has been found. France, in her last Note, has indeed indicated that no offer of security by Great Britain could, under present circumstances, compensate her for German re-armament. In the meantime, Germany is steadily re-arming. Under these circumstances, obviously Great Britain must now reconsider her position. The time for mediation is past. This country must make up her mind how best she can safeguard her own security. The steps which the Government takes to this end will be of crucial importance in determining the attitude of the British people at the next election. If nothing is done the Government will be attacked both from the Right and from the Left. It might have been hoped that it would be worth while making even at this late hour one last attempt to get agreement by a general re-statement of our position, setting out clearly the amount of re-armament which we believe should be acceptable to Germany and the extent of the guarantees of security which we are prepared to give to France as a counterbalance. But after M. Barthou's speech at Geneva on May 30, this seems hopeless. It is true that a formula has been found which allows the Conference to continue its work. But it would be unwise to build too much on this. Unless France is willing radically to alter her present attitude, we must face the fact that there is no common ground upon which an agreement between her and Germany can be based, and sooner or later we are likely to be faced by a collapse of the Conference. Should that happen it looks as though our only course will be to fall back on Locarno, and provide ourselves with adequate armaments to make our intervention under that Treaty not

merely effective, but conclusive. That, at any rate, should be a formidable check on an aggressor. But should this melancholy situation be reached, it will be essential that the Government should make clear, and continue to make clear, to the people of this country the progress of events which have led up to it. Great Britain to-day is profoundly pacific, and unless the general public are convinced that every possible step has been taken to avert the catastrophe of war, it will go hard with the Government when the election comes.

There is another factor the importance of which it is as yet difficult to assess, the growth of Fascism in this country. On this question, the leaders of all the old democratic parties are doing their best to make our flesh creep. This is natural. It is the type of issue which all party leaders welcome. It has a moral flavour. It is capable of arousing fierce public indignation. Men will not become greatly excited over the maintenance of the Gold Standard, or the allocation of quotas. But they do still feel passionately about liberty. Yet up to now the elector has not shown himself greatly moved. He seems to be sceptical about the imminence of a dictatorship in this country. Nor can he be altogether blamed. The truth is that conditions which have brought about such a change in other countries do not at present obtain here. The chief of these conditions is, of course, weak government. That was the fundamental cause of the rise both of the Fascist movement in Italy and the Nazi movement in Germany. The essential feature of any form of government is that it should be strong, and democracy is no exception to this rule. In Italy, before the march on Rome, democratic government had lost all authority. Democracy had become synonymous with mob rule. Things were going from bad to worse. Law and order were no longer maintained. Such a state of anarchy existed that trade and industry could no longer be carried on. Under such circumstances, the people repudiated their elected representatives and looked out for some one who could and would rule; and having found him, they sat back with a sigh of relief and did what they were told.

The same is true of Germany. The Nazi movement did not owe its rise to any merit of its own. It owed it to the weakness of parliamentary government. In the

case of Germany, this weakness derived from two contributory causes, one internal and one external to the country itself. The first was the existence of a fatal defect in the electoral machine. After the war, Germany had adopted the system of proportional representation. This system has, in theory, one outstanding advantage. It enables all points of view to be represented in parliament. But in practice this advantage is more than counter-balanced by the fact that no party can ever have a clear majority. Each government is in effect a minority government, dependent for its existence upon the votes of sections of opinion which do not quite agree with it. It can as a result never pursue a strong and determined line of policy. It must be constantly modifying and compromising. This the ordinary German began to realise. He saw things getting steadily worse, he saw confusion and unrest increasing, and decided that he could no longer tolerate a system which made efficiency and good government impossible. There was another factor that made him the more inclined to discard democracy. It was identified in his mind with a policy of surrender in foreign politics. France, he was convinced, would hold Germany down just so long as she could. For ten years, the democratic leaders of his country had urged patience, but his patience was now exhausted. If democracy could not free him from his bonds, he must try another system. There were two alternatives before him, a dictatorship of the right and a dictatorship of the left. To the ordinary law-abiding German there can be no doubt which seemed the more attractive. He had already seen Communism in operation in Russia. He knew the misery and the destruction to which it had led. He wanted not chaos but a strong hand at home and abroad. Hitler offered both, and to Hitler he willingly turned.

It is to be noted that in both these countries, Italy and Germany, events followed the same course. There was first of all a fairly violent swing to the left. A strong and lawless Communist party arose, which permeated the Trade Unions. There were strikes and upheavals and bloodshed. And then the very violence of the movement bred its own antidote. The orderly section of the community, who, although they were disgusted with the parliamentary system, by no means desired a complete

overthrow of the existing structure of society, decided that they must take the law into their own hands. They therefore banded themselves together, and as in a civilised nation the forces of order always tend to outnumber the forces of disorder, they ultimately won. We, in England, had something of the same experience in a milder form at the time of the General Strike, when the middle class showed quite clearly that, both by reason of its numbers and its efficiency, it was able to carry the country through any crisis that was likely to arise. We may, therefore, take it as probable that should the Parliamentary system break down in this country, events would take a similar course. There would be a swing to the left, followed by disturbances and dislocation, and then the great solid, silent block of moderate opinion would make its presence felt, and the régime that eventually emerged from the welter would be a dictatorship of the right. But this would be not the first phase but the last. That is the fundamental mistake which Sir Oswald Mosley makes. He wants a Fascist Government for itself, and he thinks that the people of England want it. They do not. It would be for them the last resort. Faced with the alternative of Communism or Fascism, they would choose Fascism. But they do not want either, and they will not have either, unless they are driven to the conclusion that parliamentary government has entirely broken down.

This, at the present moment, is certainly not true. There is here no defect in the electoral machine such as there was in Germany, making it impossible for any government to command a parliamentary majority. On the contrary, the present Government has the largest majority ever known in the history of this country. Nor are there any evidences of corruption, such as have lately been sapping confidence in France. The strongest criticism that can be levelled against the present Ministry is that it has not been active enough, and in the light of the results of its three years' tenure of power, even this criticism is unconvincing. What we are witnessing here is not the fundamental disillusionment with democracy which has led to its collapse in other countries, but merely the crumbling of support which faces any government in the third year of a parliament. If, as the result of the next election, an extremist government of the left came into

power, Fascism would undoubtedly become a formidable movement. But till then it is not likely to constitute a real danger, nor even likely to affect greatly the issue of a General Election.

An attempt has been made in this article to assess, very diffidently, some of the main factors which are likely to influence the political situation in this country in the two years which in all probability separate us from the next General Election. Obviously, it is not a comprehensive list. Many subjects have not been mentioned. Moreover, new problems may arise and profoundly alter the whole situation. Nor is it possible to draw any clear deduction from any premises, however comprehensive. Probably every reader would come to a different conclusion, according to the weight which he attached to the various considerations. But this can be said. The National Government stands for certain broad principles. It stands for liberty. It stands for sound economics, in the sense that it believes that a nation, like an individual, must live within its income. It is realist rather than academic in its outlook. The maintenance of these principles has led to a steady improvement in our national position. But that improvement has not been achieved once and for all. It will continue only so long as these principles are maintained. It is for the Government and its supporters to convince the electors, in the two years that remain, of this truth. On their success or failure will largely depend the issue of the next General Election.

CRANBORNE.

SOME RECENT BOOKS.

Professor Trevelyan's Trilogy—Mr Churchill and King James—'The Return of Napoleon'—Curzon—T. E. Lawrence—'Why I Left Germany'—Again Spengler—Spain—Shakespeare Studies, Ben Jonson and Cervantes—Landor—Saga of the Faroes—Rachmaninoff—'From Track to By-pass'—A Leechbook—Ocean Waves—Captain Gosse's Memoirs—A Catholic Plea—'A New Argument.'

WE congratulate Professor G. M. Trevelyan on the completion of his trilogy and exhaustive study of the history of England under Queen Anne. 'The Peace and the Protestant Succession' (Longmans) maintains the high excellence and authority of the whole work. It is a model of succinct and lively expression, and evidently is the result of almost infinite research and of elaborate and most patient compilation. Its concern is with the concluding seven years of the reign of Queen Anne, when many old institutions had fallen and many new or recent ones, such as the Union with Scotland, were settling down or in the making. Marlborough, except for the brilliant turning of the 'Ne Plus Ultra' lines laid down by Villars, had done his work and become an unpopular figure most shabbily treated; while Oxford and Bolingbroke were playing unscrupulously their game and incidentally strengthening the party system, while using Swift as a hack. It is easy in looking back upon those years to regard them as inglorious, mainly because of the treacheries of the leading statesmen in correspondence with the Old Pretender and of the back-stairs business of the Court wherein Mrs Masham, succeeding the justifiably angry Sarah, played her mean part. But those years were not without glory and good promise. There were victories as well as defeats over-seas and, best of all, a general definition of the principles on which our present Constitution was based, enabling it to develop successfully and to weather many storms. It is impossible here adequately to estimate all that the reign of Anne stood for as detailed in this full and careful book; but these words of the author are significant as expressing the value to England and the world of that complex

age. It brought 'the establishment of the rule of law, and that law a law of liberty. On that solid foundation the reforms and succeeding epochs have been based.' An ample justification.

Major Hay of Seaton, being concerned over various aspersions cast by Mr Churchill in his 'Marlborough,' on the fourth Stuart king and the records preserved at the Scots College, expresses his views with vigour in 'Winston Churchill and James II' (Harding and More). It is clear that the Major, being a staunch Jacobite and Roman Catholic, would not much mind who was his target so long as he might express his historical, political, and religious faith, and of course we are aware that Mr Churchill with his 'often too eager pen' is capable of being something of an oratorical and literary swashbuckler, well able to look after himself. But Major Hay, in his partialities for James, himself becomes extreme. He regards the king—his words suggest—as having been perfect in his manhood, a fine sailor and golfer, tolerant and kindly; and doubtless he was better in many ways than the historians generally have made him out to be: but he was not all saint or even a very good uncle, as his merciless treatment of the guilty and self-abasing Monmouth showed. In fact, like every one else, King James was a man of many aspects, not all of them pleasing. The most valuable parts of this booklet are the letters quoted from the Blairs Papers.

M. Henry Houssaye has written a brilliant book—we use the adjective advisedly—and his translator, Mr T. C. Macaulay, is entitled to share the praise, for he has put 'The Return of Napoleon' (Longmans) into appropriate English of the most racy and expressive quality. It is the story of the seventeen days spent in the escape from Elba and the arrival, amid frenzied excitement, at the Tuileries, and is so vividly told that we see every point of the changing scene, the sea-voyage, the mountain pass, the towns, and the faces, personalities, attitudes of the many actors in the episode, especially the Emperor himself. It was a gamble worthy of the Corsican adventurer, which succeeded, in spite of endless possibilities of disaster, through its sheer luck, impudent daring, and the strength of the glamour of the Napoleonic

name; the rank-and-file of his old armies—the ‘grog-nards’—were with him from the first and all the way, but not so generally the officers, even among his former field marshals. They had to be won over; but like snow in the spring sunshine, opposition melted almost at once. The expected chance shot which might so easily have blotted-out him and that wild enterprise was not fired; and so he came to the feverous hundred days, the crowning disaster of Waterloo, and the martyr-misery of St Helena. No chapter of the extraordinary career of Napoleon has been more brilliantly described than this by M. Houssaye.

In the space at our disposal many fine qualities in ‘*Curzon and the Last Phase*’ (Constable), by Mr Harold Nicolson, dispute for the pride of place which we can only award to one. And the prize goes to the sincerity which distinguishes this latest study. Mr Nicolson may be discussing Lord Curzon during his ‘last phase,’ his high qualities, lofty ideals, limitations, peculiarities; each of these he illustrates or praises or criticises with the pen of an artist whose truthful eye is never blinded by his radiant affection for his subject. The result is a portrait of merit. It is all to the good that the author, with his balanced mind, was so close to Lord Curzon during those last six eventful years (1919–1925) of a singularly eventful career: that fact alone gives him a title to speak with authority and not merely as one of the scribes. From his point of vantage he could record, as he has done faithfully, success and failure, victories and disappointments, and their several reactions on the sensitive character of the British Foreign Secretary, with a clarity and sureness not easily achieved by those who stood afar off. For this reason his testimony is the more valuable. The same is true when Mr Nicolson proceeds to discuss the comparative methods of the Old and New Diplomacy and to make a real contribution to an enlightened consideration of that problem. It is not so much a question of whether the principles of British diplomacy of half a century ago were different from those of to-day—they are probably much the same—as whether the old methods are as capable of effecting present aims as the new methods adapted to meet the requirements of a greatly changed world. We gather that Mr Nicolson belongs to the younger school, though his judgment is far too sure to prophesy success

for it until the modern weapons of diplomacy have become familiar to the hands that will have to use them. Here, again, he speaks with knowledge and experience, having been brought up in the professional school which knew Lord Carnock and Lord Dufferin and worked on in the same career under Lord Balfour, Mr Lloyd George, and Lord Curzon. But twenty years of intensive training in diplomacy have not made him either dogmatic or didactic. On the contrary: he opens out the problem before us, with the advantages and difficulties inherent in either method clearly stated, and invites us to make up our minds for ourselves. That, assuredly, is what we have to do sooner rather than later, and Mr Nicolson has done much to assist us in our task.

Captain Liddell-Hart set out to write a history of the Arab revolt, but he soon found that the figure of T. E. Lawrence dominated the story to such an extent that his book must inevitably be a study of the man rather than of the events, though indeed it is both. In **'T. E. Lawrence in Arabia'** (Jonathan Cape), we are given details of 'T. E.'s' early life, outlook, and adventures; his introduction to Arabia; his first association with the planned revolt; his organisation of that movement and overwhelming influence in its development; his dramatic departure after the capture of Damascus; his subsequent work at the Colonial office, and his final partial eclipse as Aircraftsman Shaw. Captain Liddell-Hart gives a clear and convincing record of the military events, but the outstanding merit of the work rests in the vivid picture that it gives of 'T. E.' Few more striking indictments of Hitlerism have appeared than **'Why I Left Germany'** (Dent), by a German-Jewish Scientist. It gives a straightforward and soberly-expressed account of the events which have gradually made life in Germany impossible. The author is apparently distinguished in science, he fought for Germany in the war and gained the Iron Cross; he had not taken any part in politics, and though proud of his Jewish descent he was still prouder of being a German. All this availed nothing in the flood of anti-Semitism released by Hitler, Göring, and the Nazis. It is almost incredible that such barbarities, such persecution, and such injustice as are here described should exist in a so-called civilised country.

The story told grows the more convincing through the very moderation of the language used. There are no theorisings, but very hard facts. It is the indictment of a nation and its truth has been proved only too well by evidence elsewhere. An Aryan German should blush to read this book.

Herr Oswald Spengler, amid the confusions of an unsettled world, is determined to make our flesh creep. In this first part of a new pronouncement on future possibilities in the light of present-day facts, entitled 'The Hour of Decision' (Allen & Unwin), he sees in the Great War and its complicated aftermath the release of the coloured races of the world from their earlier spiritual, and it may be physical, subjections, with the results that they can and will challenge the established dominance of the whites and so paint the world red. For Bolshevism, which in his involved way he somehow traces to its sources in English rationalism, will probably be an element in the new material state, or congeries of states, that will spring out of chaos. How to counter that evil force? His answer reminds one of the ex-Kaiser in his sword-clanking days when he caused speeches to be made and a picture painted to represent the 'Yellow Peril.' 'Prussianism' is the word! Well, the War showed us what Prussianism meant. The will to crush mercilessly; brutality combined with hectoring vulgarity in uniforms. It may be that Herr Spengler's definition would be different from that; but yet, whatever he means by it, he will only be spinning a doubtful word, for whatever troubles the Earth is in—and it certainly is in them—will be more likely to be cured, if cured they can be, not by force and iron discipline, called by him with a little question-begging, 'Soul discipline,' but rather by the spread of true spirituality and what in the old days was known as the liberal mind. The sword is out-of-date as a civilized influence; or if it is not so then is the Earth ruined. His diagnosis of the causes of the war remains supralapsarian.

To write history-in-brief is an impossible task when the subject is a country as ancient as Spain, with its extraordinary energies over the centuries spent in such adventures as those in the Americas and in the subjugation of the Netherlands, and with such interventions as

occurred from Carthage and Rome, the Visigoths, the Moors, and that, comparatively recent, of Napoleon. Yet with *'Spain: A Brief History'* (Methuen), Professor William C. Atkinson has not failed. Necessarily he has been compelled to omit most of the colourable side of his subject and all the reality in a people's life that may be, for example, represented in this case by the names of Cervantes, Velasquez, and even Goya; but enough remains and has been so skilfully handled by the author as to enable the reader to secure a clear idea of the long progress—failures, disasters, successes, and aspirations—experienced by the great nation of the Peninsula. The causes of the present state of semi-chaos there are clearly shown; while as to the future the promise is a complexity of hope and of doubt.

The inexhaustibleness of the interest in Shakespeare, his personality, time, and works, is made further evident through the publication by the Cambridge University Press of *'A Companion on Shakespeare Studies,'* edited by Mr Harley Granville-Barker and Professor G. B. Harrison. Their team, with Professor J. W. Mackail as the first-man in—with not too good an account of the life of the poet-dramatist—is somewhat unequal; and the volume is altogether of lesser claim than should have been. Mr E. J. Dent on *'Shakespeare and Music,'* and especially Professor Harrison on *'The National Background,'* Miss M. St Clare Byrne on *'The Social Background,'* and Mr J. Isaacs on *'Shakespearean Criticism from Coleridge to the Present Day'* and on *'Shakespeare's Scholarship,'* are the best. Their essays are valuable. Mr Harold Child also does well, but has been too restricted of space for his account of Shakespeare in the Theatre from the Restoration until now to avoid being *'full of omissions.'* The main effect of this volume is that the poet is seen in closer relation to his times, an entirely useful development; and although he was more reticent over passing events than rare Ben and most of his contemporaries after Marlowe, the discerning, with a little guidance, can detect reflections of that glowing, super-active mean and generous age over which *'Elizabeth and royal James'*—but how little truly royal was he!—presided. A further effect of the volume is to establish more certainly Shakespeare on

his inestimable throne, which endures beyond those of the princes, and so removes nearer to limbo, it is to be hoped, the faddists and the peculiarists who would displace him. We pass to the aforesaid rare Ben. The ease with which our worthies may be forgotten is amply illustrated in the case of 'Ben Jonson' (Routledge), who among men of thought and letters, if not of courts and kingships, was outstanding in his time. Except for a few perfect lyrics, such as 'Drink to me only' and 'Queen and huntress,' and a certain small square stone in Westminster Abbey, might not he now be to the general merely a name, though with pleasant vague associations? For such reason Mr John Palmer's characteristically solid biographical sketch of him is welcome. It has something of the forthrightness of the man himself, and like much of Jonson's own writings is somewhat hard to read, especially in its earlier pages; but it is prudent in its assertions and therefore trustworthy, as many modern studies of the kind in their stretchings after the topsyturviness of paradox often are not. Ben will never again be popular. Too many of his plays and poems have gone to the literary lumber-room; but as the last pen-warrior of the Renaissance, the first of the Poets Laureate, and a very great Englishman, with his blunt frankness, mighty industry, and solid honest learning, he makes an honourable and something of a lovable figure.

Possibly Mr Warre B. Wells, the translator of 'The Life and Misadventures of Miguel de Cervantes' (Allen & Unwin), by Señor Mariano Tomás, has been too eagerly anxious to bring out the particular character and idioms of the original; for its English has a flamboyancy, so to call it, that to British minds is rather too exotic. Such passages as 'But Heaven, covering its blue eyes with its hands of mist'; and 'His heart was afire. He would have liked to tear it out to illuminate the distant darkness,' illustrate the general tendency to over-paint. The further pity of it is that through these excesses the brave and pitiful figure of Cervantes, in many ways so like his own immortal and heroic knight of La Mancha, is blurred and made an uncertain figure, so that his heavy sufferings and his loves, of both of which he had more than a man's share, neither move nor greatly entertain. There is a call for a new life of the

soldier of fortune who created Don Quixote, and no romance could be more romantic than that true story when simply told ; but this of Señor Tomás, with all its enthusiasm, will not do. Finally, is it possible (as on p. 29) for an eaglet to be 'suckled,' whether in glory or in anything else ?

Mr H. C. Minchin's account of the last days, letters, and conversations of 'Walter Savage Landor' (Methuen) is sadly pathetic and bound to soften hearts to that old gladiator of the pen, whose exile in Italy was hard enough without the added pains that he suffered of poverty and of failing physical health. Happily, during that time he was in close touch with Robert Browning who proved a good Samaritan, and it is on the generally unpublished letters addressed by Landor to his brother-poet that this revealing small volume is based. The old man in his 'eighties certainly went down fighting. Almost to the last—to within two paces of his ninetieth year—he worked with mental acuteness and all that time was enduring his loneliness, the reduction of his physical faculties, and his shabby poverty—not with resignation but with a courage that gave answering knocks. Owing to the neglect of his sons, especially of the eldest, he saw himself as Lear ; it is also easy from these pages to believe that Dickens was not greatly untruthful when he drew him in his younger years as Lawrence Boythorn, a generous figure.

'The Saga of the Faroe Islanders' (Dent), as translated by Mrs Press, is the right stuff, of good fighting, stubborn angers, fierce love-making, and therefore brings to those who are not over-sophisticated thrills and a gladness which the modern novel, with all its astounding intentions, rarely brings. The adventures of Sigurd alone, with his sword and wits equally keen, are sufficient for an epic in which all the primitive passions would have play ; while his end—his ghost appearing with his two drowned companions, heroes three, in the silence of the great hall—is dramatic in its simple intensity. Doubtless, a great deal of the success of the little book, which re-tells a tale first told in the thirteenth century, is due to the translator, who has managed to retain the energy, colour, and simplicity that must have marked the original.

Herr Oskar von Riesemann, in writing his bio-

graphical study, has had the advantage of its subjects' collaboration; and although such direct association may tend to the imperfections in the portrait being elided such a condition is more or less inevitable to any study of a contemporary; therefore we may regard it as well that '*Rachmaninoff's Reminiscences*' (Allen & Unwin) should have been checked by the maestro. It is an honest account of a hard-working career and pays due regard to the moods of Rachmaninoff. From his music we know that he is exceptionally temperamental; the fact further appears in his methods of composition, easy outpourings having been followed by long periods, it may be even years, of doubt, disillusionment, and barrenness, those conditions being the worse since exile from Russia removed him from his real that was also his spiritual home. And now that supremely modern musical personality is regarded among the Soviets as bourgeois—the Muses, of course, must be muzzled or garbed in red under their tyranny—while he has not yet become the international figure that his admirers think he might have been. Possibly he is paying the price for his very early fame with the all-conquering Prelude in C Minor, so that it will be well if this volume makes the whole body of his work better known. The personal study is completed with an excellent analysis of the music, showing the ups-and-downs of his inspiration as it came.

Our English roads cover much interesting history from Roman days to the present. Mr T. W. Wilkinson in his '*From Track to By-Pass*' (Methuen) makes a notable contribution to the subject. It is certainly a curious fact that after the departure of the Romans, far from any progress being made in road development, it took about fifteen centuries to return to Roman standards after descending in mediæval times and later to a state of roadlessness which made vehicular traffic virtually impossible. Responsibility for making and keeping up what roads there were was as chaotic as the roads themselves. Gradually unity of control was established; then the turnpike system was developed, and roads at last improved to give a short and brilliant innings to the stage coach, eclipsed all too soon by the railways. With the present century have come the motors, and the road once more flourishes and excels in

perfection of surface even though too often it lacks the beauty of its immediate surroundings. The author has chapters on travellers' guides, sign-posts, milestones, inns, and other incidentals of highway travel, and the book is adorned by a large number of attractive illustrations.

The Royal Society of Literature has done well, under the terms of Dr Richard's Trust, to publish '*A Leech-book*' (Macmillan) which contains a full, impressive, and sometimes extraordinary collection of the medical recipes of the fifteenth century: printed on the left-hand pages in the original spelling and on the right-hand in modern English, excellently transcribed by Mr Warren R. Dawson. A curious work which will interest many besides students of medicine and surgery, for it harks back to an age when ideas or prejudices other than those of our peculiar times prevailed, and it was held right to cup or bleed considerably and, as we see in this volume, to apply plasters for broken bones. Then decayed teeth were believed to be occupied by a gnawing worm, and certain days of the year had their particular dangers or were beneficent.

'496. For to clarify the sight. Take the gall of a swine and the gall of an eel, and the gall of a cock, and temper these together with honey and clear water, and keep it in a vessel of brass, and anoint thine eyes therewith. This is the medicine that Hippocrates used. . . . 535. Knowing the life of a wounded man. Take trefoil and give him to drink; if he cast it out, he shall be dead. 844. For to make children speak soon. Rub hartstongue with rocksalt mingled with honey, and it shall make him to speak.'

Recipes culled at random. But one truth of worth we might learn more decisively from those ancient leeches—of the value to health of herbs.

So many uncertain quantities invest the subject of Dr Vaughan Cornish's treatise on hydrodynamics, '*Ocean Waves and Kindred Geophysical Phenomena*' (Cambridge University Press) that it must rather be taken as a collection of data to provide a mathematician's holiday than a constructive contribution to the lore of the physicist. The author has travelled the Earth widely, and, beginning with some idle observations at Branksome Chine forty years ago, has gradually extended his

investigations of water-waves, 'waves in granular material,' roll-waves, and such bores as visit Severn and Trent and, in larger dimensions still, on the Hangchow in China. Questions of dimension, speed, intervals, form, and much else enter; but so varied are the diversities due to the force of the wind, the depth of the water, the character of the sea or river bottom, the width of channels, and the pressure of the tide owing to the state of the moon, that it is doubtful as to how far as yet navigators and engineers—and they more than others—can be practically helped by the results so far obtained. Pretty well every branch of science, however, has begun amid similar uncertainties; and therefore it would be hazardous not to welcome a work as careful, lucid, full, and suggestive as within its universal province is this.

That hardy Wordsworthian question, 'Who is the Happy Warrior?' could have but a partial answer in the case of Captain Philip Gosse for the reason that, being a captain in the R.A.M.C., he could hardly be called a warrior; yet he was happy enough in his occupations. This happiness, however, came chiefly from the side-issues of his work; for, having to go through the disagreeable business of war, he discovered whatever solace he might through his love for and interest in the wild creatures that lived in the region of the fighting. When he was off duty he wandered in coppices and elsewhere, in pursuit of birds and beasts, with the result that he not only found for himself spiritual refreshment and eventually promotion to 'G.O.C. Rats,' but was able to send home to the British Museum a number of new or rather of hitherto undetected specimens. His war-book '**Memoirs of a Camp Follower**' (Longmans) is, therefore, of a character almost unique; for while we hear in it plainly enough the rattle and thunder of the guns and meet examples of human devotion and of moral and physical courage, its chief characters are rather the wild things who in spite of the noise and angers of battle went on their ways in the sanity of nature. Captain Gosse writes with an easy and natural pen. He sees the humour which lurks in ditch and thicket as well as in trench and club-room and is not afraid to express his frank opinions of certain 'Safety-first chaplains' and

the merely 'silly soldier-men' who proved unworthy of the causes they represented.

Although the normal Anglican, not to speak of the militant Protestant, is apt to look on any approach from religious Rome with deepest suspicion, Father Jerome's '**A Catholic Plea for Reunion**' (Williams & Norgate) is evidently sincere, is certainly courageous, and a very real step towards that community of sympathy between old historic antagonists which can only be for good. 'Father Jerome' is an assumed name, and at this stage, with three centuries of hot and horrid controversy to look back upon, it would have been useless to put his real name to this venture. Probably at least another century must pass before his pleas become practicable; yet there is no reason why the purpose of his little book should not be taken closely to mind. A faithful Roman priest, he sees only loss in the continuance of the breach between his own branch of the Church and the Anglican; and making his first approach to Anglo-Catholics suggests a series of equal sacrifices on the parts of both to bring them together. Over dogma and doctrine he seems immovable, and that, of course, is obstacle enough to any prompt re-union; but he sees an ultimate way out through the 'rectification' by Rome of Anglican Orders and the separate existence of the English Church in co-operation with the Latin; the Archbishop of Canterbury being its head with the Pope as supreme in Christendom. Even over Papal Infallibility and Transubstantiation he sees ways of compromise or of management; while the sidelights he throws on the closely and over-disciplined Roman system shows that only good could come to that through union with a freer and a liberal-minded ministry. There is plenty of food for thought in this book, not only expressed but also to be read 'between the lines.'

The title of Mr Malcolm Grant's '**A New Argument for God and Survival**' (Faber) is bold and challenging; and that is not the whole of the title. But the rest of it need not be quoted, for the result there asserted is not obtained. His purport, in brief, is to declare the truth of the miracles, so-called, of the Spiritualists while denying their powers to produce them; the human factors in those manifestations being merely exploited

by God to show inquirers that they really are miracles. This seems to be needlessly complicated, for surely the truths of the miracles are sufficiently illustrated in Scripture, without more or less ignoring those wonders, which generally had some spiritual or healing end, and substituting for them such tricks or improbabilities as the holding of red-hot coals in the hand, levitation, and the materialisations of persons—the normal abnormal produce of spiritualistic seances for the past sixty years. In pursuing his 'new argument,' Mr Grant does not hesitate to reject ordinary theistic beliefs and goes as far as he can in his doubtful ways by declaring the Almighty to be capable of lying, and asserting that at times 'God not only can, but does, act the part of Satan' (p. 259), with other ill assertions of the sort. In fact, the book and its argument are preposterous, and frequently nauseous, as in the accounts of certain materialisations; for instance, of 'Katie King' (p. 224), where she appears as a breathing, speaking, pulsing woman, even with 'perspiration on her arm'; later deliberately to be dissolved by the glare of three gas-burners when she went to pieces like 'a wax doll melting. . . . The eyes sunk in the sockets, the nose disappeared, the frontal bone fell in'—etc. It is a pity that such charm and ease of assertion as this well-produced volume displays should be spent on a theme so ugly, so unhelpful.

